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STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

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Speeches of William Jennings Bryan

VOLUME II

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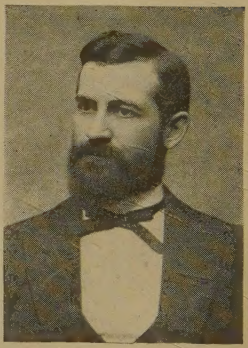

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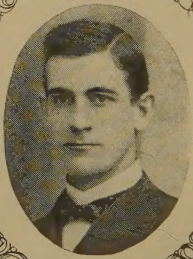

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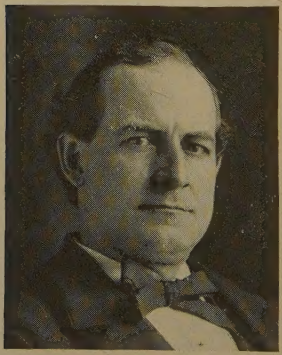

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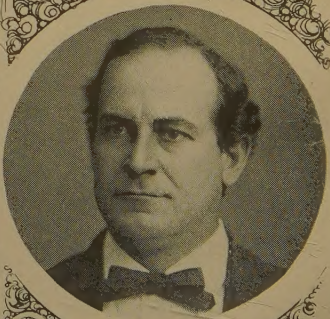

AT FORTY-TWO

MR. BRYAN AT VARIOUS AGES

Speeches of William Jennings Bryan

Revised and Arranged by Himself

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION
BY MARY BAIRD BRYAN, HIS WIFE

In Two Volumes
VOLUME II

264

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CHADRON, NEBRASKA

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He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright.

—William Cullen Bryant.

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POLITICAL SPEECHES

I

COUNTING A QUORUM

Delivered in Congress on April 17, 1894, in opposing the adoption of a rule which permitted the counting of a quorum.

MR. SPEAKER: I am obliged to the gentleman from Maine for this courtesy. The question upon which we are called to act is one of a great deal more importance than some members seem to think, and the objection which is made to the rule by some of us, who have not been able to favor it, is based upon reasons far more weighty than gentlemen have assumed.

The constitution of the State of Nebraska, which I have the honor in part to represent, contains this provision:

"No bill shall be passed unless by assent of a majority of all the members elected to each house of the Legislature, and the question upon the final passage shall be taken immediately upon its last reading, and the yeas and nays shall be entered upon the journal."

The constitutions of a majority of the States of the Union, among them the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and I might name them all if time permitted, provide the same, the object being to prevent less than one-half of all the members elected to the Legislature from passing laws. It is only by the concurrence of a majority of the members that we can know that the majority of the people desire the law. The

Constitution of the United States does not contain a similar provision; and there is no question, since the decision of the Supreme Court, that it is within the power of this House to declare by rule in what manner a quorum may be ascertained. It can be done in the manner provided in this rule, or it can be done by the call of the yeas and nays, as it has been done for a hundred years. Now, the question with me is this: which is the safer plan? According to the rule which has been in vogue a hundred years, the minority has the safeguard which is expressly secured in the constitutions of a majority of the States; according to the old rule the minority, by refusing to vote, can compel the concurrence of a majority before a law is passed.

Now, I believe that is a wise provision. I do not see why it is wiser in a State than in Congress; I do not know why it is necessary that the members of the Legislature in my State, or in New York, should be compelled to vote yea or nay when a bill shall pass, and that a majority shall concur, unless the same reasons apply in this body.

We are asked to change this rule, which has been in operation since the beginning of the Government, and adopt a new rule; a rule not intended to enable the majority to rule, but to enable less than one-half of the members of Congress to pass laws for this country. I believe that the innovation is a dangerous one. There is far more safety in giving to the minority the power to delay legislation until a majority have expressed themselves in favor of a law. How can you tell that the people of the United States desire a particular law

except by the voice of their representatives; and how can we tell that their representatives believe the bill should become a law until they have exprest themselves by vote in favor of the proposition? The naked question brought before us by this rule is: "Shall we so make our rules that the minority of the people of the United States may make the laws, or shall we retain the rule which enables us to compel the concurrence of a majority when it seems of sufficient importance?"

Of course the right to remain silent can be used to filibuster, but we have a rule which shuts off filibustering when a majority desires to vote. We have it in the power of the House—and I think it is a wise provision—to put an end to dilatory motions and to bring the House to a vote when the majority so desires, but a rule to count a quorum is not designed to facilitate the government of a majority, but to enable the representatives of a minority of the people to do business and make laws.

II

NABOTH'S VINEYARD

Delivered at Denver, Colo., in the winter of 1898-9, and one of the earliest protests made against colonialism.

THE Bible tells us that Ahab, the king, wanted the vineyard of Naboth and was sorely grieved because the owner thereof refused to part with the inheritance of his fathers. Then followed a plot, and false charges were preferred against Naboth to furnish an excuse for getting rid of him.

"Thou shalt not covet!" "Thou shalt not bear false witness!" "Thou shalt not kill"—three commandments broken, and still a fourth, "Thou shalt not steal," to be broken in order to get a little piece of ground! And what was the result? When the king went forth to take possession, Elijah, that brave old prophet of the early days, met him and pronounced against him the sentence of the Almighty. "In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall the dogs lick thy blood, even thine."

Neither his own exalted position nor the lowly station of his victim could save him from the avenging hand of outraged justice. His case was tried in a court where neither wealth, nor rank, nor power, could shield the transgressor.

Wars of conquest have their origin in covetous-

ness, and the history of the human race has been written in characters of blood because rulers have looked with longing eyes upon the lands of others.

Covetousness is prone to seek the aid of false pretense to carry out its plans, but what it cannot secure by persuasion it takes by the sword.

Senator Teller's amendment to the intervention resolution saved the Cubans from the covetousness of those who are so anxious to secure possession of the island, that they are willing to deny the truth of the declaration of our own Congress, that "the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free."

Imperialism might expand the nation's territory, but it would contract the nation's purpose. It is not a step forward toward a broader destiny; it is a step backward, toward the narrow views of kings and emperors.

Dr. Taylor has aptly exprest it in his "Creed of the Flag," when he asks:

> Shall we turn to the old world again
> With the penitent prodigal's cry?

I answer, never. This republic is not a prodigal son; it has not spent its substance in riotous living. It is not ready to retrace its steps and, with shamed face and trembling voice, solicit an humble place among the servants of royalty. It has not sinned against heaven, and God grant that the crowned heads of Europe may never have occasion to kill the fatted calf to commemorate its return from reliance upon the will of the people to dependence upon the authority which flows from regal birth or superior force.

We cannot afford to enter upon a colonial policy. The theory upon which a government is built is a matter of vital importance. The national idea has a controlling influence upon the thought and character of the people. Our national idea is self-government, and unless we are ready to abandon that idea forever we cannot ignore it in dealing with the Filipinos.

That idea is entwined with our traditions; it permeates our history; it is a part of our literature.

That idea has given eloquence to the orator and inspiration to the poet. Take from our national hymns the three words, free, freedom and liberty, and they would be as meaningless as would be our flag if robbed of its red, white and blue.

Other nations may dream of wars of conquest and of distant dependencies governed by external force; not so with the United States.

The fruits of imperialism, be they bitter or sweet, must be left to the subjects of monarchy. This is the one tree of which the citizens of a republic may not partake. It is the voice of the serpent, not the voice of God, that bids us eat.

III

AMERICA'S MISSION

Delivered in Washington, D. C., before the Virginia Democratic Association, on Feb. 22, 1899, when political parties were just beginning to take a position on the subject of imperialism.

WHEN the advocates of imperialism find it impossible to reconcile a colonial policy with the principles of our government or with the canons of morality; when they are unable to defend it upon the ground of religious duty or pecuniary profit, they fall back in helpless despair upon the assertion that it is destiny. "Suppose it does violate the Constitution," they say; "suppose it does break all the commandments; suppose it does entail upon the nation an incalculable expenditure of blood and money; it is destiny and we must submit."

The people have not voted for imperialism; no national convention has declared for it; no Congress has passed upon it. To whom, then, has the future been revealed? Whence this voice of authority? We can all prophesy, but our prophecies are merely guesses, colored by our hopes and our surroundings. Man's opinion of what is to be is half wish and half environment. Avarice paints destiny with a dollar mark before it; militarism equips it with a sword.

He is the best prophet who, recognizing the om-

nipotence of truth, comprehends most clearly the great forces which are working out the progress, not of one party, not of one nation, but of the human race.

History is replete with predictions which once wore the hue of destiny, but which failed of fulfilment because those who uttered them saw too small an arc of the circle of events. When Pharaoh pursued the fleeing Israelites to the edge of the Red Sea he was confident that their bondage would be renewed and that they would again make bricks without straw, but destiny was not revealed until Moses and his followers reached the farther shore dry shod and the waves rolled over the horses and chariots of the Egyptians. When Belshazzar, on the last night of his reign, led his thousand lords into the Babylonian banquet hall and sat down to a table glittering with vessels of silver and gold, he felt sure of his kingdom for many years to come, but destiny was not revealed until the hand wrote upon the wall those awe-inspiring words, "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin." When Abderrahman swept northward with his conquering hosts his imagination saw the Crescent triumphant throughout the world, but destiny was not revealed until Charles Martel raised the cross above the battlefield of Tours and saved Europe from the sword of Mohammedanism. When Napoleon emerged victorious from Marengo, from Ulm and from Austerlitz, he thought himself the child of destiny, but destiny was not revealed until Blucher's forces joined the army of Wellington and the vanquished Corsican began his melancholy march toward St.

Helena. When the redcoats of George the Third routed the New Englanders at Lexington and Bunker Hill there arose before the British sovereign visions of colonies taxed without representation and drained of their wealth by foreign-made laws, but destiny was not revealed until the surrender of Cornwallis completed the work begun at Independence Hall and ushered into existence a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

We have reached another crisis. The ancient doctrine of imperialism, banished from our land more than a century ago, has recrossed the Atlantic and challenged democracy to mortal combat upon American soil.

Whether the Spanish war shall be known in history as a war for liberty or as a war of conquest; whether the principles of self-government shall be strengthened or abandoned; whether this nation shall remain a homogeneous republic or become a heterogeneous empire—these questions must be answered by the American people—when they speak, and not until then, will destiny be revealed.

Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved.

No one can see the end from the beginning, but every one can make his course an honorable one from beginning to end, by adhering to the right under all circumstances. Whether a man steals much or little may depend upon his opportunities, but whether he steals at all depends upon his own volition.

So with our nation. If we embark upon a career of conquest no one can tell how many islands we may be able to seize or how many races we may be able to subjugate; neither can any one estimate the cost, immediate and remote, to the Nation's purse and to the Nation's character, but whether we shall enter upon such a career is a question which the people have a right to decide for themselves. Unexpected events may retard or advance the Nation's growth, but the Nation's purpose determines its destiny.

What is the Nation's purpose?

The main purpose of the founders of our Government was to secure for themselves and for posterity the blessings of liberty, and that purpose has been faithfully followed up to this time. Our statesmen have opposed each other upon economic questions, but they have agreed in defending self-government as the controlling national idea. They have quarreled among themselves over tariff and finance, but they have been united in their opposition to an entangling alliance with any European power.

Under this policy our nation has grown in numbers and in strength. Under this policy its beneficent influence has encircled the globe. Under this policy the taxpayers have been spared the burden and the menace of a large military establishment and the young men have been taught the arts of peace rather than the science of war. On each returning Fourth of July our people have met to celebrate the signing of the Declaration of Independence; their hearts have renewed their vows to

free institutions and their voices have praised the forefathers whose wisdom and courage and patriotism made it possible for each succeeding generation to repeat the words:

> My country, 'tis of thee,
> Sweet land of liberty,
> Of thee I sing.

This sentiment was well-nigh universal until a year ago. It was to this sentiment that the Cuban insurgents appealed; it was this sentiment that impelled our people to enter into the war with Spain. Have the people so changed within a few short months that they are now willing to apologize for the War of the Revolution and force upon the Filipinos the same system of government against which the colonists protested with fire and sword?

The hour of temptation has come, but temptations do not destroy, they merely test the strength of individuals and nations; they are stumbling blocks or stepping-stones; they lead to infamy or fame, according to the use made of them.

Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen served together in the Continental army and both were offered British gold. Arnold yielded to the temptation and made his name a synonym for treason; Allen resisted and lives in the affections of his countrymen.

Our Nation is tempted to depart from its "standard of morality" and adopt a policy of "criminal aggression." But, will it yield?

If I mistake not the sentiment of the American people they will spurn the bribe of imperialism,

and, by resisting temptation, win such a victory as has not been won since the battle of Yorktown. Let it be written of the United States: Behold a republic that took up arms to aid a neighboring people, struggling to be free; a republic that, in the progress of the war, helped distant races whose wrongs were not in contemplation when hostilities began; a republic that, when peace was restored, turned a deaf ear to the clamorous voice of greed and to those borne down by the weight of a foreign yoke spoke the welcome words, Stand up; be free—let this be the record made on history's page and the silent example of this republic, true to its principles in the hour of trial, will do more to extend the area of self-government and civilization than could be done by all the wars of conquest that we could wage in a generation.

The forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands is not necessary to make the United States a world-power. For over ten decades our Nation has been a world-power. During its brief existence it has exerted upon the human race an influence more potent for good than all the other nations of the earth combined, and it has exerted that influence without the use of sword or Gatling gun. Mexico and the republics of Central and South America testify to the benign influence of our institutions, while Europe and Asia give evidence of the working of the leaven of self-government. In the growth of democracy we observe the triumphant march of an idea—an idea that would be weighted down rather than aided by the armor and weapons proffered by imperialism.

Much has been said of late about Anglo-Saxon civilization. Far be it from me to detract from the service rendered to the world by the sturdy race whose language we speak. The union of the Angle and the Saxon formed a new and valuable type, but the process of race evolution was not completed when the Angle and the Saxon met. A still later type has appeared which is superior to any which has existed heretofore; and with this new type will come a higher civilization than any which has preceded it. Great has been the Greek, the Latin, the Slav, the Celt, the Teuton and the Anglo-Saxon, but greater than any of these is the American, in whom are blended the virtues of them all.

Civil and religious liberty, universal education and the right to participate, directly or through representatives chosen by himself, in all the affairs of government—these give to the American citizen an opportunity and an inspiration which can be found nowhere else.

Standing upon the vantage ground already gained the American people can aspire to a grander destiny than has opened before any other race.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to protect his own rights, American civilization will teach him to respect the rights of others.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to take care of himself, American civilization, proclaiming the equality of all before the law, will teach him that his own highest good requires the observance of the commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Anglo-Saxon civilization has, by force of arms, applied the art of government to other races for the benefit of Anglo-Saxons; American civilization will, by the influence of example, excite in other races a desire for self-government and a determination to secure it.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has carried its flag to every clime and defended it with forts and garrisons. American civilization will imprint its flag upon the hearts of all who long for freedom.

"To American civilization, all hail!
"Time's noblest offspring is the last!"

IV

IMPERIALISM

Delivered in Indianapolis, Ind., on Aug. 8, 1900, in accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

MR. CHAIRMAN and Members of the Notification Committee: I shall, at an early day, and in a more formal manner, accept the nomination which you tender, and shall at that time discuss the various questions covered by the Democratic platform. It may not be out of place, however, to submit a few observations at this time upon the general character of the contest before us and upon the question which is declared to be of paramount importance in this campaign.

When I say that the contest of 1900 is a contest between Democracy on the one hand and plutocracy on the other I do not mean to say that all our opponents have deliberately chosen to give to organized wealth a predominating influence in the affairs of the Government, but I do assert that on the important issues of the day the Republican party is dominated by those influences which constantly tend to substitute the worship of mammon for the protection of the rights of man.

In 1859 Lincoln said that the Republican party believed in the man and the dollar, but that in case of conflict it believed in the man before the dollar. This is the proper relation which should

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exist between the two. Man, the handiwork of God, comes first; money, the handiwork of man, is of inferior importance. Man is the master, money the servant, but upon all important questions to-day Republican legislation tends to make money the master and man the servant.

The maxim of Jefferson, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," and the doctrine of Lincoln, that this should be a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," are being disregarded and the instrumentalities of government are being used to advance the interests of those who are in a position to secure favors from the Government.

The Democratic party is not making war upon the honest acquisition of wealth; it has no desire to discourage industry, economy and thrift. On the contrary, it gives to every citizen the greatest possible stimulus to honest toil when it promises him protection in the enjoyment of the proceeds of his labor. Property rights are most secure when human rights are most respected. Democracy strives for a civilization in which every member of society will share according to his merits.

No one has a right to expect from society more than a fair compensation for the services which he renders to society, if he secures more it is at the expense of some one else. It is no injustice to him to prevent his doing injustice to another. To him who would, either through class legislation or in the absence of necessary legislation, trespass upon the rights of another the Democratic party says, "Thou shalt not."

Against us are arrayed a comparatively small but politically and financially powerful number who really profit by Republican policies; but with them are associated a large number who, because of their attachment to their party name, are giving their support to doctrines antagonistic to the former teachings of their own party.

Republicans who used to advocate bimetalism now try to convince themselves that the gold standard is good; Republicans who were formerly attached to the greenback are now seeking an excuse for giving national banks control of the Nation's paper money; Republicans who used to boast that the Republican party was paying off the national debt are now looking for reasons to support a perpetual and increasing debt; Republicans who formerly abhorred a trust now beguile themselves with the delusion that there are good trusts and bad trusts, while, in their minds, the line between the two is becoming more and more obscure; Republicans who, in times past, congratulated the country upon the small expense of our standing army, are now making light of the objections which are urged against a large increase in the permanent military establishment; Republicans who gloried in our independence when the Nation was less powerful now look with favor upon a foreign alliance; Republicans who three years ago condemned "forcible annexation" as immoral and even criminal are now sure that it is both immoral and criminal to oppose forcible annexation. That partizanship has already blinded many to present dangers is certain; how large a portion of

the Republican party can be drawn over to the new policies remains to be seen.

For a time Republican leaders were inclined to deny to opponents the right to criticize the Philippine policy of the administration, but upon investigation they found that both Lincoln and Clay asserted and exercised the right to criticize a President during the progress of the Mexican war.

Instead of meeting the issue boldly and submitting a clear and positive plan for dealing with the Philippine question, the Republican convention adopted a platform the larger part of which was devoted to boasting and self-congratulation.

In attempting to press economic questions upon the country to the exclusion of those which involve the very structure of our government, the Republican leaders give new evidence of their abandonment of the earlier ideals of the party and of their complete subserviency to pecuniary considerations.

But they shall not be permitted to evade the stupendous and far-reaching issue which they have deliberately brought into the arena of politics. When the President, supported by a practically unanimous vote of the House and Senate, entered upon a war with Spain for the purpose of aiding the struggling patriots of Cuba, the country, without regard to party, applauded.

Altho the Democrats realized that the administration would necessarily gain a political advantage from the conduct of a war which in the very nature of the case must soon end in a complete victory, they vied with the Republicans in the sup-

port which they gave to the President. When the war was over and the Republican leaders began to suggest the propriety of a colonial policy opposition at once manifested itself.

When the President finally laid before the Senate a treaty which recognized the independence of Cuba, but provided for the cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States, the menace of imperialism became so apparent that many preferred to reject the treaty and risk the ills that might follow rather than take the chance of correcting the errors of the treaty by the independent action of this country.

I was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers, remove the excuse for war expenditures and then give the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty.

In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters, I take this occasion to restate the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation.

Lincoln embodied an argument in the question when he asked, "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?" I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected. With the treaty ratified a clean-cut issue is presented be-

tween a government by consent and a government by force, and imperialists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled.

If the treaty had been rejected the opponents of imperialism would have been held responsible for any international complications which might have arisen before the ratification of another treaty. But whatever difference of opinion may have existed as to the best method of opposing a colonial policy, there never was any difference as to the great importance of the question and there is no difference now as to the course to be pursued.

The title of Spain being extinguished we were at liberty to deal with the Filipinos according to American principles. The Bacon resolution, introduced a month before hostilities broke out at Manila, promised independence to the Filipinos on the same terms that it was promised to the Cubans. I supported this resolution and believe that its adoption prior to the breaking out of hostilities would have prevented bloodshed, and that its adoption at any subsequent time would have ended hostilities.

If the treaty had been rejected considerable time would have necessarily elapsed before a new treaty could have been agreed upon and ratified, and during that time the question would have been agitating the public mind. If the Bacon resolution had been adopted by the Senate and carried out by the President, either at the time of the ratification of the treaty or at any time afterwards, it would have taken the question of imperialism out of poli-

tics, and left the American people free to deal with their domestic problems. But the resolution was defeated by the vote of the Republican Vice-President, and from that time to this a Republican Congress has refused to take any action whatever in the matter.

When hostilities broke out at Manila Republican speakers and Republican editors at once sought to lay the blame upon those who had delayed the ratification of the treaty, and, during the progress of the war, the same Republicans have accused the opponents of imperialism of giving encouragement to the Filipinos. This is a cowardly evasion of responsibility.

If it is right for the United States to hold the Philippine Islands permanently and imitate European empires in the government of colonies, the Republican party ought to state its position and defend it, but it must expect the subject races to protest against such a policy and to resist to the extent of their ability.

The Filipinos do not need any encouragement from Americans now living. Our whole history has been an encouragement, not only to the Filipinos, but to all who are denied a voice in their own government. If the Republicans are prepared to censure all who have used language calculated to make the Filipinos hate foreign domination, let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. When he uttered that passionate appeal, "Give me liberty or give me death," he exprest a sentiment which still echoes in the hearts of men.

Let them censure Jefferson; of all the statesmen

of history none have used words so offensive to those who would hold their fellows in political bondage. Let them censure Washington, who declared that the colonists must choose between liberty and slavery. Or, if the statute of limitations has run against the sins of Henry and Jefferson and Washington, let them censure Lincoln, whose Gettysburg speech will be quoted in defense of popular government when the present advocates of force and conquest are forgotten.

Some one has said that a truth once spoken can never be recalled. It goes on and on, and no one can set a limit to its ever-widening influence. But if it were possible to obliterate every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, a war of conquest would still leave its legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was God himself who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master.

Those who would have this Nation enter upon a career of empire must consider, not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos, but they must also calculate its effects upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here.

Lincoln said that the safety of this Nation was not in its fleets, its armies, or its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit

without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors.

Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism. Heretofore this Nation has been prompt to express its sympathy with those who were fighting for civil liberty. While our sphere of activity has been limited to the Western Hemisphere, our sympathies have not been bounded by the seas. We have felt it due to ourselves and to the world, as well as to those who were struggling for the right to govern themselves, to proclaim the interest which our people have, from the date of their own independence, felt in every contest between human rights and arbitrary power.

Three-quarters of a century ago, when our nation was small, the struggles of Greece aroused our people, and Webster and Clay gave eloquent expression to the universal desire for Grecian independence. In 1898 all parties manifested a lively interest in the success of the Cubans, but now when a war is in progress in South Africa, which must result in the extension of the monarchical idea, or in the triumph of a republic, the advocates of imperialism in this country dare not say a word in behalf of the Boers.

Sympathy for the Boers does not arise from any unfriendliness towards England; the American people are not unfriendly toward the people of any nation. This sympathy is due to the fact that, as stated in our platform, we believe in the principles of self-government and reject, as did our forefathers, the claims of monarchy. If this nation

surrenders its belief in the universal application of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, it will lose the prestige and influence which it has enjoyed among the nations as an exponent of popular government.

Our opponents, conscious of the weakness of their cause, seek to confuse imperialism with expansion, and have even dared to claim Jefferson as a supporter of their policy. Jefferson spoke so freely and used language with such precision that no one can be ignorant of his views. On one occasion he declared: "If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest." And again he said: "Conquest is not in our principles; it is inconsistent with our government."

The forcible annexation of territory to be governed by arbitrary power differs as much from the acquisition of territory to be built up into States as a monarchy differs from a democracy. The Democratic party does not oppose expansion when expansion enlarges the area of the Republic and incorporates land which can be settled by American citizens, or adds to our population people who are willing to become citizens and are capable of discharging their duties as such.

The acquisition of the Louisiana territory, Florida, Texas and other tracts which have been secured from time to time enlarged the Republic and the Constitution followed the flag into the new territory. It is now proposed to seize upon distant territory already more densely populated than our

own country and to force upon the people a government for which there is no warrant in our Constitution or our laws.

Even the argument that this earth belongs to those who desire to cultivate it and who have the physical power to acquire it cannot be invoked to justify the appropriation of the Philippine Islands by the United States. If the islands were uninhabited American citizens would not be willing to go there and till the soil. The white race will not live so near the equator. Other nations have tried to colonize in the same latitude. The Netherlands have controlled Java for three hundred years and yet today there are less than sixty thousand people of European birth scattered among the twenty-five million natives.

After a century and a half of English domination in India, less than one-twentieth of one per cent. of the people of India are of English birth, and it requires an army of seventy thousand British soldiers to take care of the tax collectors. Spain had asserted title to the Philippine Islands for three centuries and yet when our fleet entered Manila bay there were less than ten thousand Spaniards residing in the Philippines.

A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippine Islands a few traders, a few taskmasters and a few office-holders and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

If we have an imperial policy we must have a great standing army as its natural and necessary complement. The spirit which will justify the

forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands will justify the seizure of other islands and the domination of other people, and with wars of conquest we can expect a certain, if not rapid, growth of our military establishment.

That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by Republican leaders is not a matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of December 5, 1898, the President asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two years the President asked for four times that many, and a Republican House of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed, and when no country was at war with the United States.

If such an army is demanded when an imperial policy is contemplated, but not openly avowed, what may be expected if the people encourage the Republican party by indorsing its policy at the polls?

A large standing army is not only a pecuniary burden to the people and, if accompanied by compulsory service, a constant source of irritation, but it is ever a menace to a republican form of government.

The army is the personification of force and militarism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers.

A small standing army and a well-equipped and well-disciplined State militia are sufficient at ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past place its dependence upon the volunteers who come from all occupations at their country's call and return to productive labor when their services are no longer required—men who fight when the country needs fighters and work when the country needs workers.

The Republican platform assumes that the Philippine Islands will be retained under American sovereignty, and we have a right to demand of the Republican leaders a discussion of the future status of the Filipino. Is he to be a citizen or a subject? Are we to bring into the body politic eight or ten million Asiatics, so different from us in race and history that amalgamation is impossible? Are they to share with us in making the laws and shaping the destiny of this nation? No Republican of prominence has been bold enough to advocate such a proposition.

The McEnery resolution, adopted by the Senate immediately after the ratification of the treaty, expressly negatives this idea. The Democratic platform describes the situation when it says that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization. Who will dispute it? And what is the alternative? If the Filipino is not to be a citizen, shall we make him a subject? On that question the Democratic platform speaks with equal emphasis. It declares that the Filipino cannot be a subject without endangering our form of government. A republic can have no subjects. A

subject is possible only in a government resting upon force; he is unknown in a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Republican platform says that "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them (the Filipinos) by law." This is a strange doctrine for a government which owes its very existence to the men who offered their lives as a protest against government without consent and taxation without representation.

In what respect does the position of the Republican party differ from the position taken by the English government in 1776? Did not the English government promise a good government to the colonists? What king ever promised a bad government to his people? Did not the English government promise that the colonists should have the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and English duties? Did not the Spanish government promise to give to the Cubans the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and Spanish duties? The whole difference between a monarchy and a republic may be summed up in one sentence. In a monarchy the king gives to the people what he believes to be a good government; in a republic the people secure for themselves what they believe to be a good government.

The Republican party has accepted the European idea and planted itself upon the ground taken by George III., and by every ruler who distrusts the

capacity of the people for self-government or denies them a voice in their own affairs.

The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government is to be given the Filipinos by law; but even this pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly sixteen months elapsed after the ratification of the treaty before the adjournment of Congress last June and yet no law was passed dealing with the Philippine situation. The will of the President has been the only law in the Philippine Islands wherever the American authority extends.

Why does the Republican party hesitate to legislate upon the Philippine question? Because a law would disclose the radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican party. The storm of protest which greeted the Porto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this subject.

If the Porto Ricans, who welcomed annexation, are to be denied the guarantees of our Constitution, what is to be the lot of the Filipinos, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people, living near our shores, what treatment will those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If, in this country where the people have a right to vote, Republican leaders dare not take the side of the people against the great monopolies which have grown up within the last few years, how can they be

trusted to protect the Filipinos from the corporations which are waiting to exploit the islands?

Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States, and the twilight of semi-citizenship endured by the people of Porto Rico, while the thick darkness of perpetual vassalage covers the Philippines? The Porto Rico tariff law asserts the doctrine that the operation of the Constitution is confined to the forty-five States.

The Democratic party disputes this doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresponsible power. That the leaders of a great party should claim for any President or Congress the right to treat millions of people as mere "possessions" and deal with them unrestrained by the Constitution or the bill of rights shows how far we have already departed from the ancient landmarks and indicates what may be expected if this nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire.

The territorial form of government is temporary and preparatory, and the chief security a citizen of a territory has is found in the fact that he enjoys the same constitutional guarantees and is subject to the same general laws as the citizen of a State. Take away this security and his rights will be violated and his interests sacrificed at the demand of those who have political influence. This is the evil of the colonial system, no matter by what nation it is applied.

What is our title to the Philippine Islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we

buy them or did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value but that when that earth is molded by the divine hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator it becomes a fixture and passes with the soil? If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to people, either by force or by purchase.

We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Filipinos and armed them to fight against Spain, we disputed Spain's title. If we buy Spain's title we are not innocent purchasers.

There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Filipinos, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence, and I submit that history furnishes no example of turpitude baser than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke.

Let us consider briefly the reasons which have been given in support of an imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine Islands. But duty is not an argument; it is a conclusion. To ascertain what our duty is, in any emergency, we must apply well-settled and generally accepted principles. It is our duty to avoid stealing, no matter whether the thing to be stolen is of great or little value. It is our duty to avoid

killing a human being, no matter where the human being lives or to what race or class he belongs.

Every one recognizes the obligation imposed upon individuals to observe both the human and the moral law, but as some deny the application of those laws to nations, it may not be out of place to quote the opinions of others. Jefferson, than whom there is no higher political authority, said:

"I know of but one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively."

Franklin, whose learning, wisdom and virtue are a part of the priceless legacy bequeathed to us from the revolutionary days, exprest the same idea in even stronger language when he said:

"Justice is strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and the nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang."

Many may dare to do in crowds what they would not dare to do as individuals, but the moral character of an act is not determined by the number of those who join it. Force can defend a right, but force has never yet created a right. If it was true, as declared in the resolutions of intervention, that the Cubans "are and of right ought to be free and independent" (language taken from the Declaration of Independence), it is equally true that the Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and independent."

The right of the Cubans to freedom was not based upon their proximity to the United States, nor upon the language which they spoke, nor yet upon the race or races to which they belonged.

Congress by a practically unanimous vote declared that the principles enunciated at Philadelphia in 1776 were still alive and applicable to the Cubans. Who will draw a line between the natural rights of the Cubans and the Filipinos? Who will say that the former has a right to liberty and that the latter has no rights which we are bound to respect? And, if the Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and independent," what right have we to force our government upon them without their consent? Before our duty can be ascertained their rights must be determined, and when their rights are once determined it is as much our duty to respect those rights as it was the duty of Spain to respect the rights of the people of Cuba or the duty of England to respect the rights of the American colonists. Rights never conflict; duties never clash. Can it be our duty to usurp political rights which belong to others? Can it be our duty to kill those who, following the example of our forefathers, love liberty well enough to fight for it?

Some poet has described the terror which overcame a soldier who in the midst of the battle discovered that he had slain his brother. It is written "All ye are brethren." Let us hope for the coming of the day when human life—which when once destroyed cannot be restored—will be so sacred that it will never be taken except when necessary to punish a crime already committed, or to prevent a crime about to be committed.

It is said that we have assumed before the world obligations which make it necessary for us to permanently maintain a government in the Philippine

Islands. I reply first, that the highest obligation of this nation is to be true to itself. No obligation to any particular nations, or to all the nations combined, can require the abandonment of our theory of government, and the substitution of doctrines against which our whole national life has been a protest. And, second, that our obligation to the Filipinos, who inhabit the islands, is greater than any obligation which we can owe to foreigners who have a temporary residence in the Philippines or desire to trade there.

It is argued by some that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that, therefore, we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the Navy Department, declared the Filipinos more capable of self-government than the Cubans and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos. Henry Clay, in defending the right of the people of South America to self-government, said:

"It is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partizans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded to particular nations; and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of Providence himself to suppose that he has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man."

Clay was right. There are degrees of proficiency in the art of self-government, but it is a reflection upon the Creator to say that he denied to any peo-

ple the capacity for self-government. Once admit that some people are capable of self-government and that others are not and that the capable people have a right to seize upon and govern the incapable, and you make force—brute force—the only foundation of government and invite the reign of a despot. I am not willing to believe that an all-wise and an all-loving God created the Filipinos and then left them thousands of years helpless until the islands attracted the attention of European nations.

Republicans ask, "Shall we haul down the flag that floats over our dead in the Philippines?" The same question might have been asked, when the American flag floated over Chapultepec and waved over the dead who fell there; but the tourist who visits the City of Mexico finds there a national cemetery owned by the United States and cared for by an American citizen.

Our flag still floats over our dead, but when the treaty with Mexico was signed American authority withdrew to the Rio Grande, and I venture the opinion that during the last fifty years the people of Mexico have made more progress under the stimulus of independence and self-government than they would have made under a carpet-bag government held in place by bayonets. The United States and Mexico, friendly republics, are each stronger and happier than they would have been had the former been cursed and the latter crushed by an imperialistic policy disguised as "benevolent assimilation."

"Can we not govern colonies?" we are asked.

The question is not what we can do, but what we ought to do. This nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it must accept responsibility for what it does. If the Constitution stands in the way, the people can amend the Constitution. I repeat, the nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it cannot avoid the natural and legitimate results of its own conduct.

The young man upon reaching his majority can do what he pleases. He can disregard the teachings of his parents; he can trample upon all that he has been taught to consider sacred; he can disobey the laws of the State, the laws of society and the laws of God. He can stamp failure upon his life and make his very existence a curse to his fellow men, and he can bring his father and mother in sorrow to the grave; but he cannot annul the sentence, "The wages of sin is death."

And so with the nation. It is of age and it can do what it pleases; it can spurn the traditions of the past; it can repudiate the principles upon which the nation rests; it can employ force instead of reason; it can substitute might for right; it can conquer weaker people; it can exploit their lands, appropriate their property and kill their people; but it cannot repeal the moral law or escape the punishment decreed for the violation of human rights.

"Would we tread in the paths of tyranny,
Nor reckon the tyrant's cost?
Who taketh another's liberty
His freedom is also lost.
Would we win as the strong have ever won,
Make ready to pay the debt,
For the God who reigned over Babylon
Is the God who is reigning yet."

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them, lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are:

First—That we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

Second—That our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

Third—That the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth—That there is no honorable retreat from the position which the nation has taken.

The first argument is addrest to the nation's pride and the second to the nation's pocket-book. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partizan.

It is sufficient answer to the first argument to say that for more than a century this nation has been a world power. For ten decades it has been

the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power, but it has done more to shape the politics of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated others have been promulgated. Because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty others have fought for it. Because our Constitution was adopted other constitutions have been adopted.

The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this Republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

The permanent chairman of the last Republican National Convention presented the pecuniary argument in all its baldness when he said:

> "We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of those people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and constitution we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and open new markets."

This is the commercial argument. It is based upon the theory that war can be rightly waged for

pecuniary advantage, and that it is profitable to purchase trade by force and violence. Franklin denied both of these propositions. When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied:

"To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, howsoever valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise."

I place the philosophy of Franklin against the sordid doctrine of those who would put a price upon the head of an American soldier and justify a war of conquest upon the ground that it will pay. The Democratic party is in favor of the expansion of trade. It would extend our trade by every legitimate and peaceful means; but it is not willing to make merchandise of human blood.

But a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty.

It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. We do not own Japan or China,

but we trade with their people. We have not absorbed the republics of Central and South America, but we trade with them. It has not been necessary to have any political connection with Canada or the nations of Europe in order to trade with them. Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary.

When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended but for the fact that the expense is borne by all the people, while the profits are enjoyed by a few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the army contractors; it would be profitable to the ship owners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries would be fixt here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes and under systems which place the tax upon consumption pay much more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it.

In addition the evils which he and the farmer

share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own Government.

It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

The pecuniary argument, tho more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much enthusiasm as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "gunpowder gospel" were urged against the Filipinos only it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

The religious argument varies in positiveness from a passive belief that Providence delivered the Filipinos into our hands, for their good and our glory, to the exultation of the minister who said that we ought to "thrash the natives (Filipinos) until they understand who we are," and that "every bullet sent, every cannon shot and every flag waved means righteousness."

We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing to apply it everywhere. If

there is poison in the blood of the hand it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil.

If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte with the sword? He who would declare the divine will must prove his authority either by Holy Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation.

Imperialism finds no warrant in the Bible. The command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," has no Gatling gun attachment. When Jesus visited a village of Samaria and the people refused to receive him, some of the disciples suggested that fire should be called down from Heaven to avenge the insult; but the Master rebuked them and said: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Suppose he had said: "We will thrash them until they understand who we are," how different would have been the history of Christianity! Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying, brutal doctrine of imperialism with the golden rule and the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Love, not force, was the weapon of the Nazarene; sacrifice for others, not the exploitation of them, was His method of reaching the human heart. A missionary recently told me that the Stars and

Stripes once saved his life because his assailant recognized our flag as a flag that had no blood upon it.

Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies, they are going forth to help and uplift, having their loins girt about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breastplate of righteousness and carrying the sword of the spirit; let it be known that they are citizens of a nation which respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation.

The argument made by some that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound. We won a naval victory at Santiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba.

The shedding of American blood in the Philippine Islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever; American blood was shed at San Juan Hill and El Caney, and yet the President has promised the Cubans independence. The fact that the American flag floats over Manila does not compel us to exercise perpetual sovereignty over the islands; the American flag waves over Havana to-day, but the President has promised to haul it down when the flag of the Cuban Republic is ready

to rise in its place. Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient give way to a flag representing the idea of self-government than that the flag of this Republic should become the flag of an empire.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unreservedly indorse. If elected, I will convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Filipinos as we have promised to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba.

A European protectorate often results in the plundering of the ward by the guardian. An American protectorate gives to the nation protected the advantage of our strength, without making it the victim of our greed. For three-quarters of a century the Monroe doctrine has been a shield to neighboring republics and yet it has imposed no pecuniary burden upon us. After the Filipinos had aided us in the war against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former masters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious

designs of European nations, and since we do not desire to make them a part of us or to hold them as subjects, we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them independence and guard them against molestation from without.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates our moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstance.

Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the republican form of government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people. How different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition!

The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility! The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future

has in store for this nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission, and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfilment of that mission.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I can never fully discharge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my countrymen for the honors which they have so generously bestowed upon me; but, sirs, whether it be my lot to occupy the high office for which the convention has named me, or to spend the remainder of my days in private life, it shall be my constant ambition and my controlling purpose to aid in realizing the high ideals of those whose wisdom and courage and sacrifices brought this republic into existence.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of to-day and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practise and proclaiming to the world the self-evident propositions that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in

which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares or dares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments —a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

V

THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

Delivered in the Democratic National Convention in St. Louis in 1904. Commonly called the "I Have Kept the Faith" speech. The occasion was the seconding of the nomination of Senator F. M. Cockrell for President.

TWO nights without sleep and a cold make it difficult for me to make myself heard. I trust that my voice will improve in a moment, but as I desire to speak to the delegates rather than to the galleries, I hope they at least will be able to hear.

Eight years ago a Democratic national convention placed in my hand the standard of the party and commissioned me as its candidate. Four years later that commission was renewed. I come to-night to this Democratic national convention to return the commission. You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith.

As your candidate I did all that I could to bring success to the party; as a private citizen I feel more interested in Democratic success to-day than I ever did when I was a candidate.

The reasons that made the election of a Democrat desirable were stronger in 1900 than in 1896, and the reasons that make the election of a Demo-

crat desirable are stronger now than they were in 1900.

The gentleman who presented New York's candidate dwelt upon the dangers of militarism, and he did not overstate those dangers. Let me quote the most remarkable passage ever found in a speech nominating a candidate for the presidency.

Governor Black, of New York, in presenting the name of Theodore Roosevelt to the Republican convention, used these words:

"The fate of nations is still decided by their wars. You may talk of orderly tribunals and learned referees; you may sing in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life; you may strike from your books the last note of every martial anthem, and yet out in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the silent, rigid, upturned face. Men may prophesy and women pray, but peace will come here to abide forever on this earth only when the dreams of childhood are the accepted charts to guide the destinies of men.

"Events are numberless and mighty, and no man can tell which wire runs around the world. The nation basking to-day in the quiet and contentment of repose may still be on the deadly circuit and to-morrow writhing in the toils of war. This is the time when great figures must be kept in front. If the pressure is great the material to resist it must be granite and iron."

This is a eulogy of war. This is a declaration that the hoped for, prayed for, era of perpetual peace will never come. This is an exalting of the doctrine of brute force; it darkens the hopes of the race.

This Republican president, a candidate for reelection, is presented as the embodiment of the warlike spirit as "the granite and iron" that represent modern militarism.

Do you, men of the East, desire to defeat the

military idea? Friends of the South, are you anxious to defeat the military idea? Let me assure you that not one of you, North, East, or South, fears more than I do the triumph of that idea. If this is the doctrine that our nation is to stand for, it is retrogression, not progress. It is a lowering of the ideals of the nation. It is a turning backward to the age of violence. More than that, it is nothing less than a challenge to the Christian civilization of the world.

Some twenty-six hundred years ago a prophet foretold the coming of One who was to be called the Prince of Peace. Nearly two thousand years ago He came upon the earth, and the song that was sung at His birth was "Peace on earth, good will toward men." For almost twenty centuries this doctrine of peace has been growing; it has been taking hold upon the hearts of men. For this doctrine of peace, millions have gladly given their lives; for this doctrine of peace, thousands have crost oceans and labored in distant lands, ay, even among savage tribes. This doctrine of peace, the foundation of Christian civilization, has been the growing hope and inspiration of the world. And now, an ex-governor of the largest State in the union presents for the office of president of the greatest republic of all history, a man who is described as "granite and iron," as one who represents, not the doctrine of peace and arbitration, but the doctrine that the destinies of nations must still be settled by their wars. Will you Democrats of New York present a graver indictment against President Roosevelt than that? Can you of the

South present a more serious accusation? I do not ask concerning the character of the President. He may have every virtue; his life may be exemplary in every way; but if he shares the views of the man who placed him in nomination, if he believes with his sponsor that wars must settle the destinies of nations; that peace is but an idle, childish dream, that women may pray for it; that men may prophesy about it; but that all this talk of "orderly tribunals and learned referees" is but an empty sound—if he believes these things he is a dangerous man for our country and for the world. I believe he ought to be defeated; I believe he can be defeated; and if the Democratic party does what it ought to do, I believe he will be defeated.

How can he be defeated? As your candidate I tried to defeat the Republican party. I failed, you say? Yes, I failed. I received a million more votes than any Democrat had ever received before, and yet I failed. Why did I fail? Because some who had affiliated with the Democratic party thought my election would be injurious to the country, and they left the party and helped to elect my opponent. That is why I failed. I have no words of criticism for them. I have always believed, I believe tonight, I shall ever believe, I hope, that a man's duty to his country is higher than his duty to his party. I hope that men of all parties will have the moral courage to leave their parties when they believe that to stay with their parties would injure their country. The success of our Government depends upon the independence and the moral courage of its citizens.

But, my friends, if I, with six million and a half votes, failed to defeat the Republican party, can those who defeated me succeed in defeating the Republican party? If under the leadership of those who were loyal in 1896 we failed, shall we succeed under the leadership of those who were not loyal in 1896?

If we are going to have some other god besides this modern Mars, presented to us by Governor Black, what kind of a god is it to be? Must we choose between a god of war and a god of gold?

If there is anything that compares in hatefulness with militarism, it is plutocracy, and I insist that the Democratic party ought not to be compelled to choose between militarism on the one side and plutocracy on the other.

We have agreed upon a platform, after a session of sixteen hours. We entered the committee room at 8 last evening and left it at 12 today. But I never employed sixteen hours to better advantage in my life. I helped to bring the party together. The report was unanimous and we can go before the country with a united party.

How did we reach an agreement? The platform is not all that we of the West desired; it is not all that our Eastern Democrats desired. We had to consent to the omission of some things that we wanted in the platform. They had to consent to the omission of some things that they wanted in the platform. But by mutual concession we agreed upon a platform, and we will stand on that platform in this campaign.

But, my friends, we need more than a platform. We must nominate a ticket, and that is the work now before this convention. Had a majority of you come to this convention instructed for any man I not only would not ask you to disregard your instructions; I would not, if I could prevent it, permit you to disregard your instructions.

I believe in the right of the people to rule. I believe in the right of the people to instruct their delegates, and when a delegate is instructed, the instruction is binding upon him. But no candidate comes with a majority instructed for him. That means that you, the delegates, are left to select a candidate upon your own responsibility—and a grave responsibility it is, grave indeed is the responsibility resting upon the delegates assembled in this convention!

I have not come to ask anything of this convention. Nebraska asks nothing but to be permitted to fight the battles of democracy; that is all. Some of you call me a dictator. It is false. You know it is false. How have I tried to dictate! I have said that I thought certain things ought to be done. Have you not exercised the same privilege? Why have I not a right to suggest? Because I was your candidate, have I forfeited forever the right to make suggestions? Sirs, if that condition was attached to a nomination for the presidency, no man worthy to be president would ever accept a nomination, for the right of a man to have an opinion and to express it is more important and more sacred than the holding of any office however high.

I exprest my opinion in regard to the platform;

I made my suggestions. Not all of them were adopted. I should like to have seen the Kansas City platform reaffirmed. I am not ashamed of that platform. I believe in it now, as I believed in it when I was running upon it as your candidate, but the delegates do not agree with me, and their will is supreme in the making of the platform. When they veto my suggestions, I must submit; there is no other court to which I can appeal.

Neither have I attempted to dictate in regard to candidates. I have not asked the Democrats of this nation to nominate any particular man. I have said and repeat that there are men in every State qualified for the presidency; I have said and repeat that out of the six and a half millions who voted for me in both campaigns, we ought to be able to find at least one man fit to be president. I have made these suggestions, but they are only suggestions. I am here to-night as a delegate from Nebraska. I have not confidence enough in my own judgment to tell you that I can pick out a man and say, "This man must be nominated or we shall lose." I have, I think, a reasonable faith in my own opinions; at least I would rather stand by my opinion if I believe it right than to accept the opinion of any one else if I believe that opinion to be wrong.

But Nebraska is not here asking for the nomination of any particular man. We have a platform on which we all can stand. Now give us a ticket behind which all of us can stand. Go into any State you please for a candidate. I have not as much faith as some have in the value of locality. I have

never believed much in nominating candidates from doubtful States on the theory that their personal popularity would elect them.

I have so much confidence in Democratic principles that I think a Democrat ought to vote for a good man from any other State rather than vote for a bad man from his own State. The State pride argument is often given too much weight. I have found that when people come with a candidate and tell us, first, that we must carry a certain State, and, second, that their man is the only one who can carry that State, they do not put up a bond to deliver the votes. And then, anyhow, a State which is so uncertain that only one Democrat in the nation can carry it, cannot be relied upon in a great crisis.

Select a candidate. If it is the wish of this convention that the standard shall be placed in the hand of the gentleman presented by California, a man who, tho he has money, pleads the cause of the poor; the man who is best beloved, I think I can safely say, among laboring men, of all the candidates proposed; the man who more than any other represents opposition to the trusts—if you want to place the standard in his hand and make Mr. Hearst the candidate of this convention, Nebraska will be with you in the fight.

If you think that the gentleman from Wisconsin who, tho faithful in both campaigns, was not with us on the money question—if you think that Mr. Wall, who agrees with the East on the gold question and with the West on other questions, would draw the party together, place the standard in his

hand, and Nebraska will be with you and contribute her part.

If you prefer an Eastern man and can find some one who will give both elements of the party something to believe in, something to trust in, something to hope for, we are willing to join you in selecting him as the standard-bearer.

Not all of the available men have been mentioned. There is in the State of Pennsylvania a man whom I desire to suggest, and I do it without consulting his delegation and without the consent of the man himself. He is an Eastern man, who voted with us in both campaigns, altho against us on the money question, but, I believe, he is in sympathy with the people; a man twice governor of a great State; a man who only two years ago when again a candidate, carried the State of Pennsylvania, outside of the two great cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg.

If you Eastern Democrats who insist that your objection to me is that I believe in free silver—if you are willing to take ex-Governor Pattison, a gold man, I am willing to let you have your way on that question, for I will trust his honesty on all questions. But I only mention these candidates by way of illustration.

I desire to second the nomination of a man whose name has already been presented, and I second his nomination, not because I can assert to you that he is more available than any other person who might be named, but because I love the man and because on the platform we have adopted there is no good reason why any Democrat in the East should vote

against him. I desire to second the nomination of Senator Cockrell of Missouri.

He is the Nestor of the Senate; he is experienced in public affairs. He is known; he has a record, and can be measured by it. I would be willing to write my indorsement on his back and guarantee everything he did.

It is said that he comes from the South. What if he does? I do not share the feeling that some have that the Democratic party cannot take a candidate from the South. It is said he was in the Confederate army. What if he was? I do not share the belief of those who say that we cannot afford to nominate an ex-Confederate. That war, that cruel war, occurred forty years ago. Its issues are settled; its wounds are healed, and the participants are friends. We have another war on now, and those who know what the war between democracy and plutocracy means, will not ask where the candidate stood forty years ago; they will ask where he stands today—on which side he is fighting in the present conflict.

The great issue in this country today is "Democracy versus Plutocracy." I have been accused of having but one idea—silver. A while back it was said that I had only one, but then it was tariff reform. But there is an issue greater than the silver issue, the tariff issue or the trust issue. It is the issue between the democracy and plutocracy—whether this is to be a government of the people, and administered by officers chosen by the people, and administered in behalf of the people, or a government by the moneyed element of the country in

the interest of predatory wealth. This issue is growing.

I ask you to help us meet this issue. You tell me that the Republican candidate stands for militarism. Yes, but he also stands for plutocracy. You tell me that he delights in war. Yes, but there is another objection to him, and that is that he does not enforce the law against a big criminal as he does against a little criminal. The laws are being violated today, and those laws must be enforced. The government must be administered according to the maxim: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

We have had the debauchment of elections. It was stated the other day that into the little State of Delaware, two hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars were sent at one time just before the election of 1896. Some say that our party must have a great campaign fund and bid against the Republicans. Let me warn you that if the Democratic party is to save this nation, it must save it, not by purchase, but by principle. That is the only way to save it. Every time we resort to purchase, we encourage the spirit of barter. Under such a system the price will constantly increase, and the elections will go to the highest bidder. If the Democratic party is to save this country, it must appeal to the conscience of the country. It must point out the dangers to the Republic; and if the party will nominate a man, I care not from what part of the country he comes, who is not the candidate of a faction, who is not the candidate of an element, but the candidate of the party, the party will stand by

him and will drive the Republican party from power.

You could, I believe, take a man from any Southern State—a man who would appeal to all Democrats who love democratic principles, and to those Republicans who begin to fear for their nation's welfare, and he would poll a million more votes than the candidate of any faction whose selection would be regarded as a triumph of a part of the party over the rest of the party.

I simply submit these suggestions for your consideration. I am here to discharge a duty that I owe to the party. I knew before coming to this convention that a majority of the delegates would not agree with me in regard to the financial plank. I knew that there would be among the delegates many who voted against me when I sorely needed their help. I am not objecting to the majority against me, nor to the presence of those who left us in 1896 and have since returned, but I am here, not because I enjoy being in the minority, but because I owe a duty to the more than six million brave and loyal men who sacrificed for the ticket in recent campaigns. I came to get them as good a platform as I could; I have helped to get them a good platform. I came to help to get as good a candidate as possible, and I hope that he will be one who can draw the factions together; one who will give to us who believe in positive, aggressive, democratic reform, something to hope for, something to fight for —one who will also give to those who have differed from us on the money question something to hope for, something to fight for. And I close with an

appeal from my heart to the hearts of those who hear me: Give us a pilot who will guide the Democratic ship away from the Scylla of militarism without wrecking her upon the Charybdis of commercialism.

VI

AT THE NEW YORK RECEPTION

Delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on Aug. 30, 1906, at the reception tendered to Mr. Bryan on his return from a year's trip around the world. The meeting was in charge of the Traveling Men's Bryan Club, but was participated in by Democrats of the entire country, delegations being present from nearly every State.

HOW can I thank you for this welcome home! I would be hard-hearted indeed if I were not touched by this demonstration; I would be ungrateful if I did not dedicate myself anew to your service. It was kind of the Commercial Travelers' Anti-Trust League to prepare this reception; it was kind of Governor Folk to come all the way from Missouri to participate in it; it was kind of Mayor Johnson to lend his presence; it was kind of Mr. Thomas to give voice to your good-will in his eloquent and more than complimentary address. I am grateful to you all—most grateful.

Like all travelers who have visited other lands, I return with delight to the land of my birth, more proud of its people, with more confidence in its Government, and grateful to the kind Providence that cast my lot in the United States. My national pride has been increased because of the abundant evidence I have seen of the altruistic interest taken

by Americans in the people of other countries. No other nation can show such a record of benevolence and disinterested friendship. My love for our form of government has been quickened as I have visited castles and towers, and peered into dark dungeons, and I am glad that our nation, profiting by the experience of the past and yet unhampered by traditions and unfettered by caste, has been permitted to form a new center of civilization on new soil and erect here "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

I also return more deeply impressed than ever before with the responsibility that rests upon our nation as an exemplar among the nations, and more solicitous that we, avoiding the causes which have led other nations to decay, may present a higher ideal than has ever before been embodied in a national life and carry human progress to a higher plane than it has before reached.

I desire, moreover, to acknowledge indebtedness to the American officials who have everywhere shown us all possible courtesy and kindness. I do not know that I can better show my appreciation of the welcome accorded me by my countrymen than to submit some suggestions drawn from observations during the past year.

A Japanese educator, addressing me through an interpreter, said: "I wish you would find the worst thing in Japan and tell us about it so that we may correct it." I commended the generous spirit which he manifested, but assured him that I had not visited Japan in search of faults and blemishes, but rather that I might find the best things in Japan.

and take them home for the benefit of my own people. Each nation can give lessons to every other, and while our nation is in a position to make the largest contribution, as I believe, to the education of the world, it ought to remain in the attitude of a pupil and be ever ready to profit by the experience of others.

The first message that I bring from the old world is a message of peace. The cause of arbitration is making real progress in spite of the fact that the nations most prominent in the establishment of The Hague tribunal have themselves been engaged in wars since that court was organized. There is a perceptible growth in sentiment in favor of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. It was my good fortune to be present at the last session of the Inter-parliamentary Union, which convened in London on the 23d of July. Twenty-six nations were represented, and these included all the leading nations of the world. This peace congress, as it is generally known, not only adopted resolutions in favor of the limitation of armaments and the arbitration of all questions relating to debts, but unanimously indorsed the proposition that all disputes of every nature should be submitted to an impartial tribunal for investigation, or to the mediation of friendly nations before hostilities are commenced.

It is not necessary to point out the importance of the position taken. The embodiment of the suggestion in treaties would go a long way toward removing the probability of war. While the idea is of American origin, it was heartily accepted by

the representatives of England, France, Germany and other European countries.

I believe that if our nation would propose to make with every other nation a treaty providing that all questions in dispute between the parties should be submitted to The Hague court, or some other impartial international tribunal, for investigation and report before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities, it would find many nations willing to enter into such a compact. I am sure from the public utterances of the present prime minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, that such a treaty could be made between the two great English-speaking nations and their example would be followed until the danger of war would be almost, if not entirely, removed. To take the lead in such a movement would establish our position as a world power in the best sense of the term.

What argument can be advanced against such action on the part of the United States? Shall we yield to any other nation in the estimate to be placed upon the value of human life? I confess that my aversion to killing increases with the years. Surely the Creator did not so plan the universe as to make the progress of the race dependent upon wholesale blood-letting. I prefer to believe that war, instead of being an agency for good, is rather an evidence of man's surrender to his passions, and that one of the tests of civilization is man's willingness to submit his controversies to the arbitrament of reason rather than of force.

Another subject connected with our foreign rela-

tions: I venture to suggest that we may not only promote peace but also advance our commercial interests by announcing as a national policy that our navy will not be used for the collection of private debts. While protecting the lives of our citizens everywhere and guaranteeing personal safety to all who owe allegiance to our flag, we should, in my judgment, announce that persons engaging in business and holding property in other lands for business purposes must be subject to the laws of the countries in which they engage in business enterprises. Many profitable fields of investment are now closed because the people of the smaller nations are afraid that an investment of foreign capital will be made an excuse for a foreign invasion. Several times on this trip this fact has been brought to my attention and I am convinced that for every dollar we could secure to American investors by an attempt to put the Government back of their private claims we would lose many dollars by closing the door to investment. Mark the distinction between the protection of the lives of our citizens and the use of the navy to guarantee a profit on investments. We do not imprison for debt in the United States, neither do we put men to death because of their failure to pay what they owe, and our moral prestige as well as our commercial interests will be conserved by assuring all nations that American investments depend for protection upon the laws of the country to which the investors go.

Before leaving international politics let me add that our nation has lost prestige rather than gained it by our experiment in colonialism. We have given

the monarchist a chance to ridicule our Declaration of Independence and the scoffer has twitted us with inconsistency. A tour through the Philippine Islands has deepened the conviction that we should lose no time in announcing our purpose to deal with the Filipinos as we dealt with the Cubans. Every consideration, commercial and political, leads to this conclusion. Such ground as we may need for coaling stations or for a naval base will be gladly conceded by the Filipinos, who simply desire an opportunity to work out their own destiny, inspired by our example and aided by our advice. In so far as our efforts have been directed toward the education of the Filipinos, we have rendered them a distinct service; but in educating them we must recognize that we are making colonialism impossible. If we intended to hold them as subjects we would not dare to educate them. Self-government with ultimate independence must be assumed if we contemplate universal education in the Philippines. As soon as opportunity offers I shall discuss the Philippine question more at length, and I shall also refer to English rule in India, for it throws light upon our own problems in the Philippines, but these subjects must be reserved until I can speak more in detail.

In several of the nations of Europe, the legislative department of government is more quickly responsive to public sentiment than is our Congress. In England, for instance, where the ministry is formed from the dominant party, when an election is held upon any important issue the government proceeds to put into law the will of the people ex-

prest at the polls. While our system is superior in many respects, it has one defect, viz.: that Congress does not meet in regular session until thirteen months after the election. During this period there is uncertainty, long drawn out, which to the business community is often more damaging than a change of policy promptly carried into effect. Would not the situation be improved by a constitutional amendment convening the first session of Congress within a few months after the election and compelling the second session to adjourn several days before the following election? Such a change would not only protect legitimate business interests and give the public the benefit of more prompt relief through remedial legislation, but it would protect the people from the jobs that are usually reserved for the short session which is now held after the election and when many of the members feel less responsibility because of defeat at the polls.

I return more strongly convinced than before of the importance of a change in the methods of electing United States Senators. There is noticeable everywhere a distinct movement toward democracy in its broadest sense. In all the countries which I have visited there is a demand that the government be brought nearer to the people; in China a constitution is under consideration; in Japan the people are demanding that the ministry, instead of being chosen by the emperor from among his particular friends, shall be selected from parliament and be in harmony with the dominant sentiment; in India there is agitation in favor of a native congress; in

Russia the Czar has been compelled to recognize the popular voice in the establishment of a douma, and throughout Europe the movement manifests itself in various forms. In the United States this trend toward democracy has taken the form of a growing demand for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. It would be difficult to overestimate the strategic advantages of this reform, for since every bill must receive the sanction of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives before it can become a law, no important remedial legislation of a national character is possible until the Senate is brought into harmony with the people.

I am within the limits of the truth when I say that the Senate has been for years the bulwark of predatory wealth, and that it even now contains so many members who owe their election to favor-seeking corporations and are so subservient to their masters as to prevent needed legislation. The popular branch of Congress has four times declared in favor of this reform by a two-thirds vote and more than two-thirds of the States have demanded it, yet the Senate arrogantly and impudently blocks the way.

The income tax, which some in our country have denounced as a socialistic attack upon wealth, has, I am pleased to report, the indorsement of the most conservative countries in the old world. It is a permanent part of the fiscal system of many of the nations of Europe and in several places it is a graded tax, the rate being highest upon the largest incomes. England has long depended upon the in-

come tax for a considerable part of her revenues and an English commission is now investigating the proposition to change from a uniform to a graded tax.

I have been absent too long to speak with any authority on the public sentiment in this country at this time, but I am so convinced of the justice of the income tax that I feel sure that the people will sooner or later demand an amendment to the constitution which will specifically authorize an income tax, and thus make it possible for the burdens of the Federal Government to be apportioned among the people in proportion to their ability to bear them. It is little short of a disgrace to our country that while it is able to command the lives of its citizens in time of war, it cannot, even in the most extreme emergency, compel wealth to bear its share of the expenses of the Government which protects it.

I have referred to the investigation of international controversies under a system which does not bind the parties to accept the findings of the court of inquiry. This plan can be used in disputes between labor and capital; in fact, it was proposed as a means of settling such disputes before it was applied to international controversies. It is as important that we shall have peace at home as that we shall live peaceably with neighboring nations, and peace is only possible when it rests upon justice. In advocating arbitration of differences between large corporate employers and their employees, I believe we are defending the highest interests of the three parties to these disputes, viz.: the employers, the employees and the public. The

employee cannot be turned over to the employer to be dealt with as the employer may please.

The question sometimes asked, "Can I not conduct my business to suit myself?" is a plausible one; but when a man in conducting his business attempts arbitrarily to fix the conditions under which hundreds of employees are to live and to determine the future of thousands of human beings, I answer without hesitation that he has no right to conduct his own business in such a way as to deprive his employees of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To support this position I need only refer to the laws regulating the safety of mines, the factory laws fixing the age at which children can be employed, and usury laws establishing the rate of interest. The effort of the employer to settle differences without arbitration has done much to embitter him against those who work for him and to estrange them from him—a condition deplorable from every standpoint.

But if it is unwise to make the employer the sole custodian of the rights and interests of the employees, it is equally unwise to give the employee uncontrolled authority over the rights and interests of the employer. The employees are no more to be trusted to act unselfishly and disinterestedly than the employers. In their zeal to secure a present advantage they may not only do injustice, but even forfeit a larger future gain.

The strike, the only weapon of the employee at present, is a two-edged sword and may injure the workman as much as the employer, and even when wholly successful is apt to leave a rankling in the

bosom of the wage-earner that ought not to be there. Society has, moreover, something at stake as well as the employer and employee, for there can be no considerable strike without considerable loss to the public. Society, therefore, is justified in demanding that the differences between capital and labor shall be settled by peaceful means. If a permanent, impartial board is created, to which either party of an industrial dispute may appeal, or which can on its own motion institute an inquiry, public opinion may be relied upon to enforce the finding. If there is compulsory submission to investigation it is not necessary that there shall be compulsory acceptance of the decision, for a full and fair investigation will, in almost every case, bring about a settlement.

No reference to the labor question is complete that does not include some mention of what is known as government by injunction. As the main purpose of the writ is to evade trial by jury, it is really an attack upon the jury system and ought to arouse a unanimous protest. However, as the writ is usually invoked in case of a strike, the importance of the subject would be very much reduced by the adoption of a system of arbitration, because arbitration would very much reduce, even if it did not entirely remove, the probability of a strike.

Just another word in regard to the laboring man. The struggle to secure an eight-hour day is an international struggle and it is sure to be settled in favor of the workingman's contention. The benefits of the labor-saving machine have not been distrib-

uted with equity. The producer has enormously multiplied his capacity, but so far the owner of the machine has received too much of the increase and the laborer too little. Those who oppose the eight-hour day do it, I am convinced, more because of ignorance of conditions than because of lack of sympathy with those who toil. The removal of work from the house to the factory has separated the husband from his wife and the father from his children, while the growth of our cities has put an increasing distance between the home and the workshop. Then, too, more is demanded of the laboring man now than formerly. He is a citizen as well as a laborer, and must have time for the study of public questions if he is to be an intelligent sovereign. To drive him from his bed to his task and from his task back to his bed is to deprive the family of his companionship, society of his service and politics of his influence.

Thus far I have dwelt upon subjects which may not be regarded as strictly partizan, but I am sure that you will pardon me if in this presence I betray my interest in those policies for which the Democratic party stands. I have not had an opportunity to make a Democratic speech for almost a year, and no one—not even a political enemy—would be so cruel as to forbid me to speak of those policies on this occasion. Our opponents have derived not only partizan pleasure, but partizan advantage as well, from the division caused in our party by the money question. They ought not, therefore, to begrudge us the satisfaction that we find in the fact that unexpected conditions have removed the cause of our

differences and permitted us to present a united front on present issues. The unlooked-for and unprecedented increase in the production of gold has brought a victory to both the advocates of gold and the advocates of bimetalism—the former keeping the gold standard which they wanted and the latter securing the larger volume of money for which they contended. We who favor bimetalism are satisfied with our victory if the friends of monometalism are satisfied with theirs, and we can invite them to a contest of zeal and endurance in the effort to restore to the people the rights which have been gradually taken from them by the trusts.

The investigations which have been in progress during the past year have disclosed the business methods of those who a few years ago resented any inspection of their schemes and hid their rascality under high-sounding phrases. These investigations have also disclosed the source of enormous campaign funds which have been used to debauch elections and corrupt the ballot. The people see now what they should have seen before, namely, that no party can exterminate the trusts so long as it owes its political success to campaign contributions secured from the trusts. The great corporations do not contribute their money to any party except for immunity expressly promised or clearly implied. The president has recommended legislation on this subject, but so far his party has failed to respond.

No important advance can be made until this corrupting influence is eliminated, and I hope that the Democratic party will not only challenge the Republican party to bring forward effective legisla-

tion on this subject, but will set an example by refusing to receive campaign contributions from corporations and by opening the books so that every contributor of any considerable sum may be known to the public before the election. The great majority of corporations are engaged in legitimate business and have nothing to fear from hostile legislation, and they should not be permitted to use the money of the stockholders to advance the political opinions of the officers of the corporations. Contributions should be individual, not corporate, and no party can afford to receive contributions even from individuals when the acceptance of those contributions secretly pledges the party to a course which it cannot openly avow. In other words, politics should be honest, and I mistake political conditions in America if they do not presage improvement in the conduct of campaigns.

While men may differ as to the relative importance of issues, and while the next Congress will largely shape the lines upon which the presidential campaign of 1908 will be fought, I think it is safe to say that at present the paramount issue in the minds of a large majority of the people is the trust issue.

I congratulate President Roosevelt upon the steps which he has taken to enforce the anti-trust law, and my gratification is not lessened by the fact that he has followed the Democratic rather than the Republican platform in every advance he has made. It has been a great embarrassment to him that the platform upon which he was elected was filled with praises of the Republican party's record rather

than with promises of reform; even the enthusiastic support given him by the Democrats has enabled the champions of the trusts to taunt him with following Democratic leadership. He has probably gone as far as he could go without incurring the hostility of the leaders of his own party. The trouble is that the Republican party is not in a position to apply effective and thoroughgoing reforms, because it has built up through special legislation the very abuses which need to be eradicated.

Before any intelligent action can be taken against the trusts we must have a definition of a trust. Because no corporation has an absolute and complete monopoly of any important product, the apologists for the trusts sometimes insist that there are in reality no trusts. Others insist that it is impossible to legislate against such trusts as may exist without doing injury to legitimate business. For the purposes of this discussion it is sufficient to draw the line at the point where competition ceases to be effective and to designate as a trust any corporation which controls so much of the product of any article that it can fix the terms and conditions of sale.

Legislation which prevents monopoly not only does not injure legitimate business, but actually protects legitimate business from injury. We are indebted to the younger Rockefeller for an illustration which makes this distinction clear. In defending the trust system he is quoted as saying that as the American Beauty rose cannot be brought to perfection without pinching off ninety-nine buds, so that the one hundredth bud can receive the full

strength of the bush, so great industrial organizations are impossible without the elimination of the smaller ones. It is a cruel illustration, but it presents a perfectly accurate picture of trust methods. The Democratic party champions the cause of the ninety-nine enterprises which are menaced; they must not be sacrificed that one great combination may flourish and when the subject is understood we shall receive the cordial support of hundreds of thousands of business men who have themselves felt the oppression of the trusts, or who, having observed the effect of the trusts upon others, realize that their safety lies, not in futile attempts at the restraint of trusts, but in legislation which will make a private monopoly impossible.

There must be no mistaking of the issue and no confusing of the line of battle. The trust, as an institution, will have few open defenders. The policy of the trust defenders will be to insist upon "reasonable regulation," and then they will rely upon their power to corrupt legislatures and to intimidate executives to prevent the application of any remedies which will interfere with the trusts. Our motto must be: "A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and our plan of attack must contemplate the total and complete overthrow of the monopoly principle in industry. We need not quarrel over remedies. We must show ourselves willing to support any remedy and every remedy which promises substantial advantage to the people in their warfare against monopoly. Something is to be expected from the enforcement of the criminal clause of the Sherman anti-trust law, but this law

must be enforced, not against a few trusts, as at present, but against all trusts, and the aim must be to imprison the guilty, not merely to recover a fine. What is a fine of a thousand dollars or even ten thousand dollars to a trust which makes a hundred thousand dollars while the trial is in progress?

If the criminal clause is not going to be enforced it ought to be repealed. If imprisonment is too severe a punishment for the eminently respectable gentlemen who rob eighty millions of people of hundreds of millions of dollars annually, the language of the statute ought to be changed, for nothing is more calculated to breed anarchy than the failure to enforce the law against rich criminals while it is rigidly enforced against petty offenders.

But it is not sufficient to enforce existing laws. If ten corporations conspiring together in restraint of trade are threatened with punishment, all they have to do now is to dissolve their separate corporations and turn their property over to a new corporation. The new corporation can proceed to do the same thing that the separate corporations attempted, and yet not violate the law. We need, therefore, new legislation, and the Republican party not only fails to enact such legislation, but fails even to promise it. The Democratic party must be prepared to propose legislation which will be sufficient.

Recent investigations have brought to light the fact that nearly all the crookedness revealed in the management of our large corporations has been due largely to the duplication of directorates. A group of men organized, or obtained control of, several corporations doing business with each other and

then proceeded to swindle the stockholders of the various corporations for which they acted. No man can serve two masters, and the director who attempts to do so will fail, no matter how much money he may make, before his failure is discovered. Many of the trusts control prices by the same methods. The same group of men secure control of several competing corporations and the management is thus consolidated. It is worth while to consider whether a blow may not be struck at the trusts by a law making it illegal for the same person to act as director or officer of two corporations which deal with each other or are engaged in the same general business.

A still more far-reaching remedy was proposed by the Democratic platform of 1900, namely, the requiring of corporations to take out a federal license before engaging in interstate commerce. This remedy is simple, easily applied and comprehensive. The requiring of a license would not embarrass legitimate corporations—it would scarcely inconvenience them—while it would confine the predatory corporations to the state of their origin. Just as a federal license to sell liquor leavès the possessor of the license to sell only in accordance with the laws of the State in which he resides, so a corporate license granted by a federal commission would not interfere with the right of each State to regulate foreign corporations doing business within its borders.

If corporations were required to take out a federal license the federal Government could then issue the license upon the terms and conditions which

would protect the public. A corporation differs from a human being in that it has no natural rights, and as all of its rights are derived from the statutes it can be limited or restrained according as the public welfare may require. The control which Congress has over interstate commerce is complete, and if Congress can prevent the transportation of a lottery ticket through the mails, by the express companies or by freight, it can certainly forbid the use of the mails, the railways and the telegraph lines to any corporation which is endeavoring to monopolize an article of commerce, and no party can long be credited with sincerity if it condemns the trusts with words only and then permits the trusts to employ all the instrumentalities of interstate commerce in the carrying out of their nefarious plans. It is far easier to prevent a monopoly than to watch it and punish it, and this prevention can be accomplished in a practical way by refusing a license to any corporation which controls more than a certain proportion of the total product—this proportion to be arbitrarily fixed at a point which will give free operation to competition.

The tariff question is very closely allied to the trust question and the reduction of the tariff furnishes an easy means of limiting the extortion which the trusts can practise. While absolute free trade would not necessarily make a trust impossible, still it is probable that very few manufacturing establishments would dare to enter into a trust if the President were empowered to put upon the free list articles competing with those controlled by a trust. While I shall take occasion at an early day to con-

sider the tariff question more at length, I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without expressing the opinion that the principle embodied in the protective tariff has been the fruitful source of a great deal of political corruption, and that the high tariff schedules have been a shelter to many of our most iniquitous trusts. It is difficult to condemn the manufacturers for uniting to take advantage of a high tariff schedule when the schedule is framed on the theory that the industries need all the protection given, and it is not likely that the beneficiaries of these schedules will consent to their reduction so long as the public waits for the tariff to be reformed by its friends.

But one of the worst features of the tariff, levied not for revenue, but for the avowed purpose of protection, is that it fosters the idea that men should use their votes to advance their own financial interests. The manufacturer has been assured that it is legitimate for him to vote for Congressmen who, whatever their opinions on other subjects may be, will legislate larger dividends into his pockets; sheep growers have been encouraged to believe that they should have no higher aim in voting than to raise the price of wool; and laboring men have been urged to make their wages their only concern.

For a generation the "fat" has been fried out of the manufacturers by the Republican campaign committee, and then the manufacturers have been reimbursed by legislation. With the public conscience educated to believe that this open purchase of legislation was entirely proper, no wonder that insurance companies have used the money of their

policy holders to carry elections—no wonder that trusts have hastened to purchase immunity from punishment with liberal donations! How can we draw a moral distinction between the man who sells his vote for five dollars on election day and the manufacturer who sells his political influence for fifty or a hundred thousand dollars, payable in dividends? How can we draw a moral line between the Senator or Congressman elected by the trusts to prevent hostile legislation and the Senator or Congressman kept in Congress by the manufacturers to secure friendly legislation? The party that justifies the one form of bribery cannot be relied upon to condemn the other.

There never was a time when tariff reform could be more easily entered upon, for the manufacturers by selling abroad cheaper than at home, as many of them do, have not only shown their ingratitude toward those who built the tariff wall for them, but they have demonstrated their ability to sell in competition with the world. The high tariff has long been a burden to the consumers in the United States and it is growing more and more a menace to our foreign commerce because it arouses resentment and provokes retaliation.

The railroad question is also interwoven with the trust question. Nearly all the private monopolies have received rebates or secured other advantages over competitors. Absolute equality of treatment at the hands of the railroads would go far toward crippling the trusts, and I rejoice that the President has had the courage to press the question upon Congress. While the law, as it was finally enacted,

is not all that could be wished, it deserves a fair trial.

Rate regulation was absolutely necessary and the new law furnishes some relief from the unbearable condition which previously existed, but we must not forget that the vesting of this enormous power in the hands of a commission appointed by the President introduces a new danger. If an appointive board has the power to fix rates and can, by the exercise of that power, increase or decrease by hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the railroads, will not the railroads feel that they have a large pecuniary interest in the election of a President friendly to the railroads? Experience has demonstrated that municipal corruption is largely traceable to the fact that franchise-holding corporations desire to control the city council and thus increase their dividends. If the railroad managers adopt the same policy, the sentiment in favor of the ownership of the railroads by the Government is likely to increase as rapidly throughout the country as the sentiment in favor of municipal ownership has increased in the cities.

I have already reached the conclusion that railroads partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they must ultimately become public property and be managed by public officials in the interest of the whole community in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible. I do not know that the country is ready for this change; I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it, but I believe that an increasing number of the mem-

bers of all parties see in public ownership the only sure remedy for discrimination between persons and places and for extortionate rates for the carrying of freight and passengers.

Believing, however, that the operation of all the railroads by the federal Government would so centralize the Government as to almost obliterate State lines, I prefer to see only the trunk lines operated by the federal Government and the local lines by the several State governments. Some have opposed this dual ownership as impracticable, but investigation in Europe has convinced me that it is entirely practicable. Nearly all the railroads of Germany are owned by the several States, the empire not even owning trunk lines, and yet the interstate traffic is in no wise obstructed. In traveling from Constantinople to Vienna one passes through Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and a part of Austria without a change of cars, altho each country owns and operates its own roads and different languages are spoken on the different divisions of the lines. Sweden and Norway each owns its railroads, but they have no trouble about interstate traffic, altho their political relations are somewhat strained. The ownership and operation of the local lines by the several State governments is not only feasible, but it suits itself to conditions existing in the various States. In those States where the people are ripe for a change, the local lines can be purchased or new lines be built at once, while private ownership can continue in those States in which the people still prefer private ownership. Some States have been more careful than others to prevent the water-

ing of stock and in the acquiring of roads each State can act according to the situation which it has to meet.

As to the right of the governments, federal and State, to own and operate railroads there can be no doubt. If we can deepen the water in the lakes and build connecting canals in order to cheapen railroad transportation during half of the year, we can build a railroad and cheapen rates the whole year; if we can spend several hundred millions on the Panama canal to lower transcontinental rates, we can build a railroad from New York to San Francisco to lower both transcontinental and local rates. The United States mail is increasing so rapidly that we shall soon be able to pay the interest on the cost of trunk lines out of the money which we now pay to railroads for carrying through mails. If any of you question the propriety of my mentioning this subject, I beg to remind you that the President could not have secured the passage of the rate bill had he not appealed to the fear of the more radical remedy of Government ownership, and I may add, nothing will so restrain the railroad magnates from attempting to capture the interstate commerce commission as the same fear. The high-handed manner in which they have violated law and ignored authority, together with the corruption discovered in high places, has done more to create sentiment in favor of public ownership than all the speeches and arguments of the opponents of private ownership.

I have referred to the railroad question as a part of the trust question because they are so interwoven

that it is difficult to consider one without the other.

Just a word more in regard to the trusts. Some defend them on the ground that they are an economic development and that they cannot be prevented without great injury to our industrial system. This may be answered in two ways: First, trusts are a political development rather than an economic one; and, second, the trust system could not be permitted to continue even though it did result in a net economic gain. It is political because it rests upon the corporation and the corporation rests upon a statutory foundation. The trust, instead of being a natural development, is a form of legalized larceny, and can exist only so long as the law permits it to exist. That there is an economic advantage in production on a large scale may be admitted, but because a million yards of cloth can be produced in one factory at a lower price per yard than one hundred thousand yards can be produced in the same factory, it does not follow that cloth would or could be produced at a still lower price per yard if all the cloth consumed in the United States were produced in one factory or under one management. There is a point beyond which the economic advantage of a large production ceases. The moment an industry approaches the position of a monopoly it begins to lose in economic efficiency, for a monopoly discourages invention, invites deterioration in quality and destroys a most potent factor in production, viz.: individual ambition. But the political objections to a trust overcome any economic advantage which it can pos-

sibly have. No economic advantage can justify an industrial despotism or compensate the nation for the loss of independence among its producers. Political liberty could not long endure under an industrial system which permitted a few powerful magnates to control the means of livelihood of the rest of the people.

Landlordism, the curse of Europe, is an innocent institution in comparison with the trust when the trust is carried to its logical conclusion. The man who argues that there is an economic advantage in private monopoly is aiding socialism. The socialist, asserting the economic superiority of the monopoly, insists that its benefits shall accrue to the whole people, and his conclusion cannot be denied if his assertion is admitted. The Democratic party, if I understand its position, denies the economic as well as the political advantage of private monopoly and promises to oppose it wherever it manifests itself. It offers as an alternative competition where competition is possible, and public monopoly wherever circumstances are such as to prevent competition.

Socialism presents a consistent theory, but a theory which, in my judgment, does not take human nature into account. Its strength is in its attack upon evils, the existence of which is confest; its weakness is that it would substitute a new disease—if not a worse one—for the disease from which we suffer. The socialist is honest in the belief that he has found a remedy for human ills, and he must be answered with argument, not with abuse. The best way to oppose socialism is to remedy the abuses which have grown up under individualism but

which are not a necessary part of individualism, and the sooner the remedy is applied the better.

As I was leaving home I set forth my reasons for opposing the socialistic doctrine that the Government should own and operate all the means of production and transportation; my observations during the past year have strengthened my conviction on that subject. Because I am anxious to preserve individualism, I am earnest in my desire to see the trusts exterminated, root and branch, that the door of opportunity may be open to every American citizen.

I shall reserve for another occasion a discussion of the rapidly growing appropriations made by the party in power. It is natural that those who look upon taxation as a blessing should view governmental extravagance with complacency. Yet even the desire to find ways of spending the revenues brought into the treasury by a high tariff can hardly account for the reckless expenditures of the last session of Congress.

But at this time I desire to center your thoughts upon the overshadowing evil of the day—the trust, with the plutocratic tendencies that result therefrom. It demands a remedy and the people are prepared to administer strenuous treatment. The Democratic party offers a solution which is both reasonable and adequate—a solution in which time-honored principles are applied to new conditions.

The Democratic party is not the enemy of property or of property rights; it is, on the contrary, the best defender of both, because it defends human rights and human rights are the only foundation

upon which property and property rights can rest securely. The Democratic party does not menace a single dollar legitimately accumulated; on the contrary, it insists upon the protection of rich and poor alike in the enjoyment of that which they have honestly earned. The Democratic party does not discourage thrift, but, on the contrary, stimulates each individual to the highest endeavor by assuring him that he will not be deprived of the fruits of his toil. If we can but repeal the laws which enable men to reap where they have not sown—laws which enable them to garner into their overflowing barns the harvests that belong to others—no one will be able to accumulate enough to make his fortune dangerous to the country. Special privilege and the use of the taxing power for private gain—these are the twin pillars upon which plutocracy rests. To take away these supports and to elevate the beneficiaries of special legislation to the plane of honest effort ought to be the purpose of our party.

And who can suffer injury by just taxation, impartial laws and the application of the Jeffersonian doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none? Only those whose accumulations are stained with dishonesty and whose immoral methods have given them a distorted view of business, society and government. Accumulating by conscious frauds more money than they can use upon themselves, wisely distribute or safely leave to their children, these denounce as public enemies all who question their methods or throw a light upon their crimes.

Plutocracy is abhorrent to a republic; it is more despotic than monarchy, more heartless than aristocracy, more selfish than bureaucracy. It preys upon the nation in time of peace and conspires against it in the hour of its calamity. Conscienceless, compassionless and devoid of wisdom, it enervates its votaries while it impoverishes its victims. It is already sapping the strength of the nation, vulgarizing social life and making a mockery of morals. The time is ripe for the overthrow of this giant wrong. In the name of the counting-rooms which it has defiled; in the name of business honor which it has polluted; in the name of the home which it has despoiled; in the name of religion which it has disgraced; in the name of the people whom it has opprest, let us make our appeal to the awakened conscience of the nation.

And if I may be permitted to suggest a battle hymn, I propose a stanza slightly changed from one of the most touching of the poems of Burns, Scotland's democratic bard:

"Columbia! My dear, my native soil,
For whom my warmest wish to heaven is sent,
Long may thy hardy sons of rustic toil
Be blest with health, and peace, and sweet content.
And, O, may Heaven their simple lives prevent
From luxury's contagion, weak and vile;
Then, tho unearned wealth to wickedness be lent,
A virtuous populace will rise and stand
A wall of fire around their much loved land."

VII

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Delivered in Louisville, Ky., in September, 1906, in reply to misrepresentations of that part of his New York speech which dealt with the railroad question.

BEFORE addressing myself to other subjects, which I wish to discuss, I beg your indulgence while I submit a few remarks in regard to one question concerning which my attitude has, to some extent, been misrepresented.

In my speech at the New York reception I made a brief reference to the Government ownership of railways, and I thought that I had exprest myself so clearly that my position could not be misconstrued even by those who desired to misconstrue it. The New York speech was prepared in advance. It was not only written, but it was carefully revised. It stated exactly what I wanted to state and I have nothing to withdraw or modify in the statement therein made. What I say to-night is rather in the nature of an elaboration of the ideas therein presented.

After quoting from the Democratic platform of 1900, that "a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and after laying it down as a principle that public ownership should begin where competition ends and that the people should have the benefit of any monopoly that might be found

necessary, I stated that I had reached the conclusion "that railroads partake so much of the nature of monopoly that they must ultimately become public property and be managed by public officials in the interests of the whole community." I added: "I do not know that the country is ready for this legislation. I do not know that the majority of my own party favors it, but I believe that an increasing number of the members of all parties see in public ownership a sure remedy for discrimination between persons and places and for the extortionate rates for the carrying of freight and passengers."

I then proceeded to outline a system of public ownership whereby the advantages of public ownership might be secured to the people without the dangers of centralization. This system contemplates federal ownership of the trunk lines only and the ownership of local lines by the several States. I further exprest it as my opinion that the railroads themselves were responsible for the growth of the sentiment in favor of public ownership, and said that, while I believed that the rate bill recently enacted should be given a fair trial, we might expect to see the railroads still more active in politics unless our experience with them differed from the experience we had had with franchise-holding corporations.

This statement of my views has been assailed by some as an attempt to force these views upon the Democratic party, and by some as an announcement of an intention to insist upon the incorporation of these views in the next Democratic national plat-

form. Let me answer these two charges. I have tried to make it clear that I exprest my own opinion and I have never sought to compel the acceptance of my opinion by any one else. Reserving the right to do my own thinking, I respect the right of every one else to do his thinking. I have too much respect for the rights of others to ask them to accept any views that I may entertain unless those views commend themselves to them, and I have too much confidence in the independent thought in my own party to expect that any considerable number of Democrats would acknowledge my right to do their thinking for them, even if I were undemocratic enough to assert such a right.

As to platforms, I have contended always that they should be made by the voters. I have, in my speeches and through my paper, insisted that the platform should be the expression of the wishes of the voters of the party and not be the arbitrary production of one man or a few leaders.

If you ask me whether the question of Government ownership will be an issue in the campaign of 1908, I answer, I do not know. If you ask me whether it ought to be in the platform, I reply, I cannot tell until I know what the Democratic voters think upon the subject. If the Democrats believe that the next platform should contain a plank in favor of Government ownership, then that plank ought to be included. If the Democrats think it ought not to contain such a plank, then such a plank ought not to be included. It rests with the party to make the platform, and individuals can only advise. I have spoken for myself and for my-

self only, and I did not know how the suggestion would be received. I am now prepared to confess to you that it has been received more favorably than I expected. It has not been treated as harshly as I thought possibly it would be treated. That it would be gravely discust by others I hoped. There is this, however, that I do expect, namely, that those Democrats who opposed Government ownership will accompany their declaration against it with the assertion that they will favor Government ownership whenever they are convinced that the country must choose between Government ownership of the roads and railroad ownership of the Government. I cannot conceive how a Democrat can declare, no matter to what extent the railroads carry their interference with politics and their corruption of officials, he is still opposed to Government ownership. I think I may also reasonably expect that Democrats who oppose Government ownership will say that if Government ownership must come, they prefer a system whereby the State may be preserved and the centralizing influence be reduced to a minimum. Such a plan I have proposed, and I have proposed it because I want the people to consider it and not be driven to the federal ownership of all railroads as the only alternative to private ownership. The dual plan, that is, federal ownership of trunk lines and State ownership of local lines, not only preserves the State, and even strengthens its position, but it permits the gradual adoption of Government ownership as the people of different sections are ready to adopt it.

I have been slow in reaching this position and I

can therefore be patient with those who now stand where I stood for years, urging strict regulation and hoping that that would be found feasible. I still advocate strict regulation and shall rejoice if experience proves that that regulation can be made effective. I will go farther than that and say that I believe we can have more efficient regulation under a Democratic administration with a Democratic Senate and House than we are likely to have under a Republican administration with a Republican Senate and House, and yet I would not be honest with you if I did not frankly admit that observation has convinced me that no such efficient regulation is possible, and that Government ownership can be undertaken on the plan outlined with less danger to the country than is involved in private ownership as we have had it or as we are likely to have it. I have been brought to regard public ownership as the ultimate remedy by railroad history which is as familiar to you as to me. Among the reasons that have led me to believe that we must, in the end, look to Government ownership for relief, I shall mention two or three. First and foremost is the corrupting influence of the railroad in politics. There is not a State in the union that has not felt this influence to a greater or less extent. The railroads have insisted upon controlling legislatures; they have insisted upon naming executives; they have insisted upon controlling the nomination and appointment of judges; they have endeavored to put their representatives on tax boards that they might escape just taxation; they have watered their stock, raised their rates and enjoined the States

whenever they have attempted to regulate rates; they have obstructed legislation when hostile to them, and advanced, by secret means, legislation favorable to them. Let me give you an illustration:

The interstate commerce law was enacted nineteen years ago. After about nine years this law was practically nullified by the supreme court, and for ten years the railroad influence has been sufficient in the Senate and House to prevent an amendment asked for time and again by the Interstate Commerce Commission. That railroad influence has been strong enough to keep the Republican party from adopting any platform declaration in favor of rate regulation. When the President, following three Democratic platforms, insisted upon regulation, he was met with the opposition of the railroads, and every step, every point gained in favor of the people, was gained after a strenuous fight. The bill was improved by an amendment proposed by Senator Stone, of Missouri, restoring the criminal penalty which had been taken out of the interstate commerce law by the Elkins law. This same amendment had been presented, in substance, in the House, by Congressman James, of Kentucky, and had been defeated by Republican votes. The bill was further improved by an amendment proposed by Senator Culberson, of Texas, forbidding the use of passes, and it would have been still further improved by the amendment proposed by Senator Bailey, of Texas, limiting the court review, but the railroad influence was strong enough to defeat this amendment.

I have no idea that the railroads are going to

permit regulation without a struggle and I fear that their influence will be strong enough very much to delay, if it does not entirely defeat, remedial legislation. You, in this State, know something of the railroad in politics. When I visited the State and spoke for Mr. Goebel, I heard him charge upon every platform that the railroads were spending large sums in opposition to his election, and I have always believed that the railroad influence was largely responsible for the assassination of that brave defender of the rights of the people.

Another reason which has led me to favor Government ownership, is the fact that the people are annually plundered of an enormous sum by extortionate rates; that places are discriminated against and individuals driven out of business by favoritism shown by the railroads. You say that all these things can be corrected without interference with private ownership. I shall be glad if experience proves that they can be, but I no longer hope for it. President Roosevelt, altho expressing himself against Government ownership, has announced that only successful regulation can prevent Government ownership. Is there any Democrat who is not willing to go as far as President Roosevelt and admit the necessity of Government ownership in case the people are convinced of the failure of regulation? I cannot believe it.

Then, while we attempt to make regulation effective, while we endeavor to make the experiment under the most favorable conditions, namely, with the Democratic party in power, let us not hesitate to inform the railroads that they must keep out of

politics; that they must keep their hands off of legislation; that they must abstain from interfering with the party machinery and warn them that they can only maintain their private control of the railroads by accepting such regulation as the people may see fit to apply in their own interest and for their own protection. Without this threat our cause would be hopeless. It remains to be seen whether, with this threat, we shall be able to secure justice to the shippers, to the traveling public and to the taxpayers.

VIII

SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?

Delivered in Lincoln, Nebr., on Aug. 12, 1908, in accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

I CANNOT accept the nomination which you officially tender, without first acknowledging my deep indebtedness to the Democratic party for the extraordinary honor which it has conferred upon me. Having twice before been a candidate for the presidency, in campaigns which ended in defeat, a third nomination, the result of the free and voluntary act of the voters of the party, can only be explained by a substantial and undisputed growth in the principles and policies for which I, with a multitude of others, have contended. As these principles and policies have given me whatever political strength I possess, the action of the convention not only renews my faith in them but strengthens my attachment to them.

It is sufficient, at this time, to assure you that I am in hearty accord with both the letter and the spirit of the platform. I endorse it in whole and in part, and shall, if elected, regard its declarations as binding upon me. And, I may add, a platform is binding as to what it omits as well as to what it contains. According to the democratic idea, the people think for themselves and select officials to carry out their wishes. The voters are the sov-

ereigns; the officials are the servants, employed for a fixt time and at a stated salary to do what the sovereigns want done, and to do it in the way the sovereigns want it done. Platforms are entirely in harmony with this democratic idea. A platform announces the party's position on the questions which are at issue; and an official is not at liberty to use the authority vested in him to urge personal views which have not been submitted to the voters for their approval. If one is nominated upon a platform which is not satisfactory to him, he must, if candid, either decline the nomination, or, in accepting it, propose an amended platform in lieu of the one adopted by the convention. No such situation, however, confronts your candidate, for the platform upon which I was nominated not only contains nothing from which I dissent, but it specifically outlines all the remedial legislation which we can hope to secure during the next four years.

The distinguished statesman who received the Republican nomination for President said, in his notification speech:

> "The strength of the Republican cause in the campaign at hand is the fact that we represent the policies essential to the reform of known abuses, to the continuance of liberty and true prosperity, and that we are determined, as our platform unequivocally declares, to maintain them and carry them on."

In the name of the Democratic party, I accept the challenge, and charge that the Republican party is responsible for all the abuses which now exist in the federal Government, and that it is impotent to accomplish the reforms which are imperatively

needed. Further, I cannot concur in the statement that the Republican platform unequivocally declares for the reforms that are necessary; on the contrary, I affirm that it openly and notoriously disappoints the hopes and expectations of reformers, whether those reformers be Republicans or Democrats. So far did the Republican convention fall short of its duty that the Republican candidate felt it necessary to add to his platform in several important particulars, thus rebuking the leaders of the party upon whose cooperation he must rely for the enactment of remedial legislation.

As I shall, in separate speeches, discuss the leading questions at issue, I shall at this time confine myself to the paramount question, and to the far-reaching purpose of our party, as that purpose is set forth in the platform.

Our platform declares that the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion, is "Shall the people rule?" No matter which way we turn; no matter to what subject we address ourselves, the same question confronts us: Shall the people control their own Government and use that Government for the protection of their rights and for the promotion of their welfare? or shall the representatives of predatory wealth prey upon a defenseless public, while the offenders secure immunity from subservient officials whom they raise to power by unscrupulous methods? This is the issue raised by the "known abuses" to which Mr. Taft refers.

In a message sent to Congress last January, President Roosevelt said:

"The attacks by these great corporations on the administration's actions have been given a wide circulation throughout the country, in the newspapers and otherwise, by those writers and speakers who, consciously or unconsciously, act as the representatives of predatory wealth—of the wealth accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage-earners to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition, and to defrauding the public by stock-jobbing and the manipulation of securities. Certain wealthy men of this stamp, whose conduct should be abhorrent to every man of ordinarily decent conscience, and who commit the hideous wrong of teaching our young men that phenomenal business success must ordinarily be based on dishonesty, have, during the last few months, made it apparent that they banded together to work for a reaction. Their endeavor is to overthrow and discredit all who honestly administer the law, to prevent any additional legislation which would check and restrain them, and to secure, if possible, a freedom from all restraint which will permit every unscrupulous wrongdoer to do what he wishes unchecked, provided he has enough money."

What an arraignment of the predatory interests! Is the President's indictment true? And, if true, against whom was the indictment directed? Not against the Democratic party.

Mr. Taft says that these evils have crept in during the last ten years. He declares that, during this time, some

"prominent and influential members of the community, spurred by financial success and in their hurry for greater wealth, became unmindful of the common rules of business honesty and fidelity, and of the limitations imposed by law upon their actions";

and that

"the revelations of the breaches of trusts, the disclosures as to rebates and discriminations by railroads, the accumulating evidence of the violations of the anti-trust laws, by a number of corporations, and the overissue of stocks and bonds of interstate railroads for the unlawful enriching of

directors and for the purpose of concentrating the control of the railroads under one management"—

—all these, he charges, "quickened the conscience of the people and brought on a moral awakening."

During all this time, I beg to remind you, Republican officials presided in the executive department, filled the cabinet, dominated the Senate, controlled the House of Representatives and occupied most of the federal judgeships. Four years ago the Republican platform boastfully declared that since 1860—with the exception of two years—the Republican party had been in control of part or of all the branches of the federal Government; that for two years only was the Democratic party in a position to either enact or repeal a law. Having drawn the salaries; having enjoyed the honors; having secured the prestige, let the Republican party accept the responsibility!

Why were these "known abuses" permitted to develop? Why have they not been corrected? If existing laws are sufficient, why have they not been enforced? All of the executive machinery of the federal Government is in the hands of the Republican party. Are new laws necessary? Why have they not been enacted? With a Republican President to recommend, with a Republican Senate and House to carry out his recommendations, why does the Republican candidate plead for further time in which to do what should have been done long ago? Can Mr. Taft promise to be more strenuous in the prosecution of wrongdoers than the present executive? Can he ask for a larger majority in the

Senate than his party now has? Does he need more Republicans in the House of Representatives or a speaker with more unlimited authority?

The President's close friends have been promising for several years that he would attack the iniquities of the tariff. We have had intimation that Mr. Taft was restive under the demands of the highly protected industries. And yet the influence of the manufacturers, who have for twenty-five years contributed to the Republican campaign fund, and who in return have framed the tariff schedules, has been sufficient to prevent tariff reform. As the present campaign approached, both the President and Mr. Taft declared in favor of tariff revision, but set the date of revision after the election. The pressure brought to bear by the protected interests has been great enough to prevent any attempt at tariff reform before the election; and the reduction promised after the election is so hedged about with qualifying phrases, that no one can estimate with accuracy the sum total of tariff reform to be expected in case of Republican success. If the past can be taken as a guide, the Republican party will be so obligated by campaign contributions from the beneficiaries of protection, as to make that party powerless to bring to the country any material relief from the present tariff burdens.

A few years ago the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives were coerced by public opinion into the support of an anti-trust law which had the endorsement of the President, but the Senate refused even to consider the measure, and since that time no effort has been made by the dominant

party to secure remedial legislation upon this subject.

For ten years the Interstate Commerce Commission has been asking for an enlargement of its powers, that it might prevent rebates and discriminations, but a Republican Senate and a Republican House of Representatives were unmoved by its entreaties. In 1900 the Republican national convention was urged to endorse the demand for railway legislation, but its platform was silent on the subject. Even in 1904, the convention gave no pledge to remedy these abuses. When the President finally asked for legislation, he drew his inspiration from three Democratic national platforms and he received more cordial support from the Democrats than from the Republicans. The Republicans in the Senate deliberately defeated several amendments offered by Senator LaFollette and supported by the Democrats—amendments embodying legislation asked by the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of these amendments authorized the ascertainment of the value of railroads. This amendment was not only defeated by the Senate, but it was overwhelmingly rejected by the recent Republican national convention, and the Republican candidate has sought to rescue his party from the disastrous results of this act by expressing himself, in a qualified way, in favor of ascertaining the value of the railroads.

Mr. Taft complains of the overissue of stocks and bonds of railroads, "for the unlawful enriching of directors and for the purpose of concentrating the control of the railroads under one management,"

and the complaint is well founded. But, with a President to point out the evil, and a Republican Congress to correct it, we find nothing done for the protection of the public. Why? My honorable opponent has, by his confession, relieved me of the necessity of furnishing proof; he admits the condition and he cannot avoid the logical conclusion that must be drawn from the admission. There is no doubt whatever that a large majority of the voters of the Republican party recognize the deplorable situation which Mr. Taft describes; they recognize that the masses have had but little influence upon legislation or upon the administration of the Government, and they are beginning to understand the cause. For a generation, the Republican party has drawn its campaign funds from the beneficiaries of special legislation. Privileges have been pledged and granted in return for money contributed to debauch elections. What can be expected when official authority is turned over to the representatives of those who first furnish the sinews of war and then reimburse themselves out of the pockets of the taxpayers?

So long as the Republican party remains in power, it is powerless to regenerate itself. It cannot attack wrongdoing in high places without disgracing many of its prominent members, and it, therefore, uses opiates instead of the surgeon's knife. Its malefactors construe each Republican victory as an endorsement of their conduct and threaten the party with defeat if they are interfered with. Not until that party passes through a period of fasting in the wilderness will the Republican leaders learn

to study public questions from the standpoint of the masses. Just as with individuals, "the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth," so in politics, when party leaders serve far away from home and are not in constant contact with the voters, continued party success blinds their eyes to the needs of the people and makes them deaf to the cry of distress.

An effort has been made to secure legislation requiring publicity as to campaign contributions and expenditures; but the Republican leaders, even in the face of an indignant public, refused to consent to a law which would compel honesty in elections. When the matter was brought up in the recent Republican national convention, the plank was repudiated by a vote of 880 to 94. Here, too, Mr. Taft has been driven to apologize for his convention and to declare himself in favor of a publicity law; and yet, if you will read what he says upon this subject, you will find that his promise falls far short of the requirements of the situation. He says:

"If I am elected President, I shall urge upon Congress, with every hope of success, that a law be passed requiring the filing, in a federal office, of a statement of the contributions received by committees and candidates in elections for members of Congress, and in such other elections as are constitutionally within the control of Congress."

I shall not embarrass him by asking him upon what he bases his hope of success; it is certainly not on any encouragement he has received from Republican leaders. It is sufficient to say that if his hopes were realized—if, in spite of the adverse action of his convention, he should succeed in securing the enactment of the very law which he favors, it would

give but partial relief. He has read the Democratic platform; not only his language, but his evident alarm, indicates that he has read it carefully. He even had before him the action of the Democratic national committee in interpreting and applying that platform; and yet he fails to say that he favors the publication of the contributions before the election. Of course, it satisfies a natural curiosity to find out how an election has been purchased, even when the knowledge comes too late to be of service, but why should the people be kept in darkness until the election is past? Why should the locking of the door be delayed until the horse is gone?

An election is a public affair. The people, exercising the right to select their officials and to decide upon the policies to be pursued, proceed to their several polling places on election day and register their will. What excuse can be given for secrecy as to the influences at work? If a man, pecuniarily interested in "concentrating the control of the railroads in one management," subscribes a large sum to aid in carrying the election, why should his part in the campaign be concealed until he has put the officials under obligation to him? If a trust magnate contributes $100,000 to elect political friends to office with a view to presenting hostile legislation, why should that fact be concealed until his friends are securely seated in their official positions?

This is not a new question; it is a question which has been agitated—a question which the Republican leaders fully understand—a question which the Republican candidate has studied, and yet he refuses

to declare himself in favor of the legislation absolutely necessary, namely, legislation requiring publication before the election.

How can the people hope to rule if they are not able to learn, until after the election, what the predatory interests are doing? The Democratic party meets the issue honestly and courageously. It says:

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund, and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable maximum, and providing for the publication, before election, of all such contributions above a reasonable minimum."

The Democratic national committee immediately proceeded to interpret and apply this plank, announcing that no contributions would be received from corporations, that no individual would be allowed to contribute more than $10,000, and that all contributions above $100 would be made public before the election—those received before October 15 to be made public on or before that day, those received afterward to be made public on the day when received, and no such contributions to be accepted within three days of the election. The expenditures are to be published after the election. Here is a plan which is complete and effective.

Next to the corrupt use of money, the present method of electing United States Senators is most responsible for the obstruction of reforms. For one hundred years after the adoption of the constitution, the demand for the popular election of Senators, while finding increased expression, did not become a dominant sentiment. A constitutional amendment had from time to time been suggested

and the matter had been more or less discussed in a few of the States, but the movement had not reached a point where it manifested itself through Congressional action. In the Fifty-second Congress, however, a resolution was reported from a house committee proposing the necessary constitutional amendment, and this resolution passed the House of Representatives by a vote which was practically unanimous. In the Fifty-third Congress a similar resolution was reported to, and adopted by, the House of Representatives. Both the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses were Democratic. The Republicans gained control of the House as a result of the election of 1894 and in the Fifty-fourth Congress the proposition died in committee. As time went on, however, the sentiment grew among the people, until it forced a Republican Congress to follow the example set by the Democrats, and then another and another Republican Congress acted favorably. State after State has endorsed this reform, until nearly two-thirds of the States have recorded themselves in its favor. The United States Senate, however, impudently and arrogantly obstructs the passage of the resolution, notwithstanding the fact that the voters of the United States, by an overwhelming majority, demand it. And this refusal is the more significant when it is remembered that a number of Senators owe their election to great corporate interests. Three Democratic national platforms—the platforms of 1900, 1904 and 1908—specifically call for a change in the constitution which will put the election of Senators in the hands of the voters, and the proposition has been

endorsed by a number of the smaller parties, but no Republican national convention has been willing to champion the cause of the people on this subject. The subject was ignored by the Republican national convention in 1900; it was ignored in 1904, and the proposition was explicitly repudiated in 1908, for the recent Republican national convention, by a vote of 866 to 114, rejected the plank endorsing the popular election of Senators—and this was done in the convention which nominated Mr. Taft, few delegates from his own State voting for the plank.

In his notification speech, the Republican candidate, speaking of the election of Senators by the people, says: "Personally, I am inclined to favor it, but it is hardly a party question." What is necessary to make this a party question? When the Democratic convention endorses a proposition by a unanimous vote, and the Republican convention rejects the proposition by a vote of seven to one, does it not become an issue between the parties? Mr. Taft cannot remove the question from the arena of politics by expressing a personal inclination toward the Democratic position. For several years he has been connected with the administration. What has he ever said or done to bring this question before the public? What enthusiasm has he shown in the reformation of the Senate? What influence could he exert in behalf of a reform which his party has openly and notoriously condemned in its convention, and to which he is attached only by a belated expression of personal inclination?

"Shall the people rule?" Every remedial measure of a national character must run the gauntlet

of the Senate. The President may personally incline toward a reform; the House may consent to it; but as long as the Senate obstructs the reform, the people must wait. The President may heed a popular demand; the House may yield to public opinion; but as long as the Senate is defiant, the rule of the people is defeated. The Democratic platform very properly describes the popular election of Senators as "the gateway to other national reforms." Shall we open the gate, or shall we allow the exploiting interests to bar the way by the control of this branch of the federal legislature? Through a Democratic victory, and through a Democratic victory only, can the people secure the popular election of Senators. The smaller parties are unable to secure this reform; the Republican party, under its present leadership, is resolutely opposed to it; the Democratic party stands for it and has boldly demanded it. If I am elected to the presidency, those who are elected upon the ticket with me will be, like myself, pledged to this reform, and I shall convene Congress in extraordinary session immediately after inauguration, and ask, among other things, for the fulfilment of this platform pledge.

The third instrumentality employed to defeat the will of the people is found in the rules of the House of Representatives. Our platform points out that "the house of representatives was designed by the fathers of the constitution to be the popular branch of our Government, responsive to the public will," and adds:

"The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative

and legislative body, responsive to the will of a majority of the members, but has come under the absolute domination of the speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

"We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our Federal Government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members."

This arraignment is fully justified. The reform Republicans in the House of Representatives, when in the minority in their own party, are as helpless to obtain a hearing or to secure a vote upon a measure as are the Democrats. In the recent session of the present Congress, there was a considerable element in the Republican party favorable to remedial legislation; but a few leaders, in control of the organization, despotically suppress these members, and thus forced a real majority in the House to submit to a well-organized minority. The Republican national convention, instead of rebuking this attack upon popular government, eulogized Congress and nominated as the Republican candidate for Vice-President one of the men who shared in the responsibility for the coercion of the House. Our party demands that "the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's representatives, and not by the speaker," and is pledged to adopt "such rules and regulations to govern the House of Representatives as will enable a majority of its members to direct its deliberations and control legislation."

"Shall the people rule?" They can not do so unless they can control the House of Representatives, and, through their representatives in the

House, give expression to their purposes and their desires. The Republican party is committed to the methods now in vogue in the House of Representatives; the Democratic party is pledged to such a revision of the rules as will bring the popular branch of the Federal Government into harmony with the ideas of those who framed our constitution and founded our Government.

"Shall the people rule?" I repeat, is declared by our platform to be the overshadowing question, and as the campaign progresses, I shall take occasion to discuss this question as it manifests itself in other issues; for whether we consider the tariff question, the trust question, the railroad question, the banking question, the labor question, the question of imperialism, the development of our waterways, or any other of the numerous problems which press for solution, we shall find that the real question involved in each is, whether the Government shall remain a mere business asset of favor-seeking corporations or be an instrument in the hands of the people for the advancement of the common weal.

If the voters are satisfied with the record of the Republican party and with its management of public affairs, we cannot reasonably ask for a change in administration; if, however, the voters feel that the people, as a whole, have too little influence in shaping the policies of the Government; if they feel that great combinations of capital have encroached upon the rights of the masses, and employed the instrumentalities of government to secure an unfair share of the total wealth produced, then we have a right to expect a verdict against the Republican

party and in favor of the Democratic party; for our party has risked defeat—aye, suffered defeat—in its effort to arouse the conscience of the public and to bring about that very awakening to which Mr. Taft has referred.

Only those are worthy to be entrusted with leadership in a great cause who are willing to die for it, and the Democratic party has proven its worthiness by its refusal to purchase victory by delivering the people into the hands of those who have despoiled them. In this contest between Democracy on the one side and plutocracy on the other, the Democratic party has taken its position on the side of equal rights, and invites the opposition of those who use politics to secure special privileges and governmental favoritism. Gauging the progress of the nation, not by the happiness or wealth or refinement of a few, but by the prosperity and advancement of the average man, the Democratic party charges the Republican party with being the promoter of present abuses, the opponent of necessary remedies and the only bulwark of private monopoly. The Democratic party affirms that in this campaign it is the only party having a prospect of success, which stands for justice in government and for equity in the distribution of the fruits of industry.

We may expect those who have committed larceny by law and purchased immunity with their political influence, to attempt to raise false issues, and to employ "the livery of Heaven" to conceal their evil purposes, but they can no longer deceive. The Democratic party is not the enemy of any legitimate

industry or of honest accumulations. It is, on the contrary, a friend of industry and the steadfast protector of that wealth which represents a service to society. The Democratic party does not seek to annihilate all corporations; it simply asserts that, as the Government creates corporations, it must retain the power to regulate and to control them, and that it should not permit any corporation to convert itself into a monopoly. Surely we should have the cooperation of all legitimate corporations in our effort to protect business and industry from the odium which lawless combinations of capital will, if unchecked, cast upon them. Only by the separation of the good from the bad can the good be made secure.

The Democratic party seeks not revolution but reformation, and I need hardly remind the student of history that cures are mildest when applied at once; that remedies increase in severity as their application is postponed. Blood poisoning may be stopt by the loss of a finger to-day; it may cost an arm to-morrow or a life the next day. So poison in the body politic cannot be removed too soon, for the evils produced by it increase with the lapse of time.

That there are abuses which need to be remedied, even the Republican candidate admits; that his party is unable to remedy them has been fully demonstrated during the last ten years. I have such confidence in the intelligence as well as the patriotism of the people, that I cannot doubt their readiness to accept the reasonable reforms which our party proposes, rather than permit the continued

growth of existing abuses to hurry the country on to remedies more radical and more drastic.

The platform of our party closes with a brief statement of the party's ideal. It favors "such an administration of the Government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society."

Governments are good in proportion as they assure to each member of society, so far as governments can, a return proportionate to individual merit.

There is a Divine law of rewards. When the Creator gave us the earth, with its fruitful soil, the sunshine with its warmth, and the rains with their moisture, He proclaimed, as clearly as if His voice had thundered from the clouds: "Go work, and according to your industry and your intelligence, so shall be your reward." Only where might has overthrown, cunning undermined or government suspended this law, has a different law prevailed. To conform the Government to this law ought to be the ambition of the statesman; and no party can have a higher mission than to make it a reality wherever governments can legitimately operate.

Recognizing that I am indebted for my nomination to the rank and file of our party, and that my election must come, if it comes at all, from the unpurchased and unpurchasable suffrages of the American people, I promise, if entrusted with the responsibilities of this high office, to concentrate whatever ability I have to the one purpose of making this, in fact, a government in which the people rule

—a government which will do justice to all, and offer to every one the highest possible stimulus to great and persistent effort, by assuring to each the enjoyment of his just share of the proceeds of his toil, no matter in what part of the vineyard he labors, or to what occupation, profession or calling he devotes himself.

IX

THE TRUST QUESTION

Delivered in Indianapolis, Ind., on Aug. 25, 1908.

NOWHERE does the Republican party show its indifference to real reform more than in its treatment of the trust question. Here is the Republican platform:

"The Republican party passed the Sherman anti-trust law over Democratic opposition and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration. But experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better attained by such amendments as will give to the Federal Government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, having power and opportunity to effect monopolies."

The Sherman anti-trust law was passed eighteen years ago; it has a criminal clause which provides a penitentiary punishment for those who conspire together in restraint of trade. Ever since the enactment of the law, with the exception of four years, the Republican party has controlled the executive department of the Government, and, during two years of the four, it controlled the House of Representatives. Instead of Democratic dereliction, the Democratic party has been urging, year after year, the strict enforcement of that law, and the Republican party has been explaining year after year why

it was impossible to enforce it. Instead of being a "wholesome instrument for good," it has been almost useless, so far as the protection of the public is concerned, for the trusts have grown in number, in strength, and in arrogance, at the very time when the Republican party was boasting of its enforcement of the law. The Steel Trust was formed immediately after the election of 1900, and a prominent Republican said, in a speech soon after, that it might have prevented a Republican victory if it had been formed before the election.

Most of the trusts have never been disturbed, and those that have been prosecuted have not had their business seriously interrupted. The President has done something toward the enforcement of the law, but not nearly enough and the Republican leaders have thwarted him at every point. Finally the President became so exasperated that he sent to Congress a message which shocked Republican leaders by the fierceness of its denunciation of the predatory interests. The very convention that spoke in its platform of the administration as "a wise and fearless one" was composed largely of the Senators and members of Congress, who boldly opposed every effort to free the people from the clutches of the favor-seeking corporations.

The Republican platform says that experience has shown that the effectiveness of the anti-trust law could be strengthened "by amendments which will give the Federal Government greater supervision and control over, and greater publicity as to, the management of those interstate commerce corporations which have the power and opportunity to

effect monopolies." That is all. No pointing out of remedies; no outlining of a plan for more effective legislation—simply a general statement that promises nothing in particular. And Mr. Taft's speech of acceptance is even weaker than the platform. He gives no evidence of having studied the question, and one looks in vain in his notification speech for any sign of indignation at what the trusts have been doing or for evidence of zeal in their prosecution. He has, for several years, been the intimate official companion of the President, but he has caught none of the fire which the President manifested in his message of last January.

If, in the presence of an aroused people, and in the heat of a campaign, the Republican party contents itself with a colorless platform on this subject, what can we expect in the way of activity when the exigencies of the campaign are passed? If, when Mr. Taft is appealing to the Roosevelt Republicans, his discussion of the subject is so lifeless and his manner so apologetic and apathetic, what reason have we to expect either vigor in the enforcement of the law or earnestness in the search for additional remedies?

In his speech delivered about a year ago announcing his candidacy, Mr. Taft suggested that the present law be so amended as to permit "reasonable" restraint of trade. Such an amendment would be as absurd as an amendment to the law against burglary limiting the law to cases in which more than two burglars entered the house at one time, or took more than half they found. In his notification speech he suggests national incorporation—a

remedy which would make conditions worse because, without adding to the power of Congress to prevent monopolies, it would deprive the States of the power to protect their own people.

Now, let me contrast the Democratic platform with the Republican platform. Nowhere is the difference in the temper of the parties more noticeable; nowhere is the difference in the method of dealing with questions more manifest. Our platform says:

"A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the additional remedies, we specify three; First, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations; second, a license system which will, without abridging the right of each State to create corporations, or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as twenty-five per cent. of the product in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock and to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than fifty per cent. of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States; and, third, a law compelling such licensed corporations to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making due allowance for cost of transportation."

Here is a plain, candid statement of the party's position. There is no quibbling, no evasion, no ambiguity. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. It is bad—bad in principle, and bad in practise. No apology can be offered for it, and no people should endure it. Our party's position is

entirely in harmony with the position of Jefferson. With a knowledge of human nature which few men have equaled and none surpassed, and with extraordinary foresight, he exprest unalterable opposition to every form of private monopoly. The student of history will find that upon this subject, as upon other subjects of Government, the great founder of the Democratic party took his position upon the side of the whole people and against those who seek to make a private use of Government, or strive to secure special privileges at the expense of the public.

I have, in discussing the tariff question, presented one of our remedies, namely, the removal of the tariff from imports which compete with trust-made goods. This, we believe, would greatly lessen the extortion practised by the trusts and bring about the dissolution of many monopolistic combines. But we are not satisfied merely with the lessening of extortion or with the dissolution of some of the trusts.

Because the private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, the Democratic party favors its extermination. It pledges itself to the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials. It is impossible for the Republican party to enforce the present criminal law against trust officials; these officials are intimately connected with the Republican party in the present campaign. Take, for instance, the chairman of the Republican Speaker's committee, Mr. Dupont, of Delaware. He is the defendant in a suit which the Government brought and is now prosecuting. Mr.

Dupont is charged with violation of the anti-trust law. Why should he be put on the executive committee and then be given control of the speaking part of the campaign? If you talk to a Republican leader about penitentiary punishment for offenders, he favors fining the corporation on the ground that it is impossible to convict individuals, but when you urge fines you are told that fines are unjust to innocent stockholders. We favor both fine and imprisonment, but we think it is better to prevent monopolies than to first authorize them to prey upon the public and then try to punish them for doing so. Mr. Taft favors control of trusts instead of extermination, but after years of experience the people have learned that the trusts control the Government.

Our platform does not stop with the enforcement of the law; it demands the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

The Democratic party does not content itself with a definition of the wrong or with a denunciation of it. It proceeds to outline remedies. The first is a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations. No one can object to this remedy unless he is in sympathy with the trusts, rather than with the people who are victimized by the trusts. There is no easier way of stifling competition than to make one board of directors serve for a number of competing corporations. It is not necessary for corporations to enter into an agreement for the restraint of trade if the cor-

porations can, without violating the law, reach the same end by electing the same directors.

The second remedy is one upon which I desire to dwell at some length. We believe it to be a simple, complete and easily enforced remedy. As stated in the platform, it is:

"A license system which will, without abridging the right of each State to create corporations, or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as twenty-five per cent. of the product in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than fifty per cent. of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States."

It will be noticed, in the first place, that care was taken by those who drew the platform to provide that there should be no abridgment of the right of a State to create corporations, or of its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits. This plan, therefore, does not in the least infringe upon the right of the States to protect their own people. It simply provides for the exercise by Congress of the power vested in it to regulate interstate commerce. As long as a corporation confines itself to the State in which it is created, Congress cannot interfere with it; but when the corporation engages in interstate commerce, Congress is the only power that can regulate its interstate business.

In proposing the exercise of this power, the Democratic platform is not asserting a new doctrine. In January, 1896, a Republican House of Repre-

sentatives adopted a resolution calling upon Hon. Judson Harmon, then Attorney-General of the United States, now the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio, to report what steps, if any, had been taken to enforce the law of the United States against trusts, combinations and conspiracies in restraint of trade and commerce, and what further legislation was, in his opinion, needed to protect the people against them. On the 8th day of February he submitted a reply, in which he described the steps which were being taken to enforce the law, and recommended the enactment of further legislation. I call special attention to the following words:

"Congress may make it unlawful to ship from one State to another, in carrying out, or attempting to carry out, the designs of such (State) organizations, articles produced, owned or controlled by them or any of their members or agents."

His recommendation embodies the very idea which our plan now proposes to carry out. We want to make it unlawful for a corporation to use the instrumentalities of interstate commerce for the carrying out of a monopolistic purpose. Surely no party can consistently claim to be opposed to private monopolies which will permit the interstate railroads to be used to carry out the designs of a monopoly, or which will permit the interstate telegraph lines to be used to increase the power of a private monopoly; or, to make the case stronger, no party can consistently claim to be opposed to the trusts which will allow the mails of the United States to be used by the trusts as an agency for the extermination of competition. Congress has already exercised this power, to exterminate lotteries. Why

not exercise it to make private monopolies impossible?

If it is conceded that Congress has the power to prevent the shipment of goods from one State to another when such shipment is a part of a conspiracy against trade and commerce, then the only question is as to the means to be employed to prevent such shipment. The license system prevents an easy way of regulating such corporations as need federal regulation. The law can prohibit the doing of a thing and impose a penalty for the violation of the law, but experience has shown that it is very difficult to gather up evidence from all sections of the United States and prosecute a great corporation; so difficult is it, that altho the Sherman anti-trust law has been in force for eighteen years, no trust magnate has been sent to the penitentiary for violating the law, altho in a few cases the court has found corporations guilty of a violation of the law. In the enforcement of a penalty, the Government must seek the defendant; by the use of the license system, the corporation is compelled to seek the Government.

A trust can best be defined as a corporation which controls so large a proportion of the total quantity of any article used in this country as to be able to regulate the price and terms of sale, and as the proportion controlled determines the power of the trust for harm, it has seemed best to use proportionate control as the basis of this plan. Twenty-five per cent. has been fixt arbitrarily as the proportion at which the line should be drawn. A corporation which controls less than twenty-five per cent. of the

product in which it deals, may, in extraordinary cases, exert a perceptible influence in controlling the price of the product and the terms of sale, but as a rule a corporation must control more than that percentage of the total product before it can exert a hurtful influence on trade. Under this plan, the small corporations are left entirely free and unhampered. This is not a discrimination against the larger corporation, but a recognition of the fact that rules are necessary in the case of corporations controlling a large percentage of the product which are not necessary in the case of smaller corporations. Probably not one per cent. of the corporations engaged in interstate commerce would be required to take out a license under this plan—possibly not one-half of one per cent.—and yet what a protection the remaining ninety-nine per cent. would find in the law requiring a license in the case of the larger ones!

The license, however, would not prevent the growth of the corporations licensed. It would simply bring them under the eye of the Federal Government and compel them to deal with the public in such a way as to afford the public the protection necessary. One of the restrictions suggested is that such licensed corporations be compelled to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making due allowance for cost of transportation. Mr. Taft attacks this restriction as "utterly impracticable." He says:

"If it can be shown that in order to drive out competition, a corporation owning a large part of the plant producing an article is selling in one part of the country,

where is has competitors, at a low and unprofitable price, and in another part of the country, where it has none, at an exorbitant price, this is evidence that it is attempting an unlawful monopoly and justifies conviction under the anti-trust law."

If such an act is now unlawful, why is he so frightened at a plan which gives to the small competitor this very protection? The trouble with the present law is that it does not restrain the evils at which it is aimed. The plan proposed in the Democratic platform brings the corporation under the surveillance of the Government when it has reached the danger point, and thereafter subjects it to federal scrutiny. The present law simply prohibits it in an indefinite sort of way, and then leaves the officers of the law to scour the country and hunt up violations of the law's provisions. Mr. Taft is unduly alarmed at this proposal, or else he entirely fails to comprehend the details of the plan. He says:

"To supervise the business of corporations in such a way as to fix the price of commodities and compel the sale at such price is as absurd and socialistic a plank as was ever inserted in a Democratic political platform."

And yet this sentence is found in the same paragraph with the sentence above quoted in which he declares that it is even now a violation of the Sherman anti-trust law for a corporation to attempt to destroy a competitor by selling at a low and unprofitable price where it has competition, and at an exorbitant price where it has no competition. In what respect is our plan more socialistic than the plan which Mr. Taft endorses? Merely in the fact that ours can be enforced. According to Mr. Taft's

logic, a plan is not socialistic which is not effective, but the same would be socialistic if made effective. Why should a corporation, supplying twenty millions of people—for a corporation controlling twenty-five per cent. of the total product supplies one-fourth, or more, of our population—why should such a corporation be permitted to sell at one price in one part of the country and at another price in another part? What reason can a corporation have for such discrimination? Prices are not made as a matter of favor; when a big corporation sells to the people of one section at one price and to the people of another section at another price—the cost of transportation being taken into consideration—there is a reason for it, and in almost every case the reason is to be found in the desire to destroy a competitor. One of the most familiar methods of the trust is to undersell a small competitor in the small competitor's territory—the price being maintained elsewhere—until the small competitor is driven into bankruptcy and then the price is raised. That has been done over and over again. It is open and notorious; and yet, with the Republican party in complete power at Washington, what effort has been made to prevent this? This remedy, altho vehemently denounced by Mr. Taft, will appeal to the average man as not only very salutary, but very necessary.

Fifty per cent. is fixt as the maximum limit. When a corporation controls fifty per cent. of the total product, it supplies forty millions of people with that product. Is that not enough? Mr. Taft's objection to this limitation can hardly be characterized as statesmanlike. He says:

"A corporation controlling forty-five or fifty per cent. of the profit may, by well-known methods, frequently effect a monopoly and stamp out competition in a part of a country as completely as if it controlled sixty or seventy per cent. thereof."

Why, then, does he not propose a lower limit? If the control of forty-five per cent. may constitute a monopoly, why does he not suggest that as a maximum? It cannot be because of any disinclination to amend his platform, for he has already made a patchwork quilt of the convention's platform by promiscuous amendments.

And to what "well-known" methods does he refer? To the underselling of competitors in one section while the price is maintained elsewhere? And yet this is the very thing which we propose to remedy, but he proceeds to denounce our remedy as absurd and socialistic. The trouble with Secretary Taft is that he spends so much time trying to discover excuses for inaction in trust matters that he has none left for the consideration of effective remedies. He spends more time uttering warnings against remedies proposed than he does in pointing out the evils to be remedied or in suggesting remedies. He says:

"The combination of capital in large plants to manufacture goods with the greatest economy is just as necessary as the assembling of the parts of a machine to the economical and more rapid manufacture of what in old times was made by hand."

And he adds that:

"The Government should not interfere with one any more than the other, when such aggregations of capital are legitimate and are properly controlled, for they are the nat-

ural results of modern enterprise and are beneficial to the public."

No one proposes to interfere with production on a a large scale. No one objects to production on a scale sufficiently large to enable the producer to utilize by-products and take advantage of all the economies that large production makes possible. It is just here that the trust magnates attempt to confuse the public mind, and Mr. Taft has unconsciously adopted their language.

Let the issue be made plain; let the distinction be accurately drawn; let the respective positions of the parties be fully understood. The Democratic party does not oppose all corporations; on the contrary, it recognizes that the corporation can render an important service to the public. The Democratic party wants to employ every instrumentality that can be employed for the advancement of the common good; but the Democratic party draws the line at the private monopoly, and declares that a private monopoly cannot be justified on either economic or political grounds.

From an economic standpoint, a monopoly is objectionable. The moment a corporation secures a practical monopoly in the production or sale of any article, certain evils appear which outweigh any good that can come from large production or control. Wherever private monopolies exist, certain irresistible tendencies manifest themselves. First, it raises prices—this is the first thing thought of for the increasing of profits. Then, in proportion as it becomes the only purchaser of the raw material, it reduces the price of the raw material, and

the producer of that raw material, having no other market, must accept the price offered. In this way, too, the profits of the corporation are increased. Third, a reduction in the quality of the product affords an opportunity for increasing profits. Fourth, reduction in wages follows wherever conditions will permit.

Competition protects the purchaser, for when a number of independent producers stand ready to supply him with what he needs, he can choose between them and buy from the one who offers the best product at the lowest price. He is also protected in quality because those who compete for the opportunity to sell to him must show either advantage in price or advantage in quality. Competition protects the man who produces raw material, for when there are a number of bidders for that which is being sold, he can accept the highest price offered. Competition also helps the wage-earner, for his skill is the finished product which he offers upon the market, and where a number of independent industries are endeavoring to secure the highest skill, the skilled laborer has the best assurance of obtaining a fair recompense; when there is but one employer, the employe must take the price offered, because he will lose the advantage of his experience if he must go out to find a different kind of employment.

The business men of the country have felt the pressure of the trusts. The retailer has been compelled to enter into contracts which restrict his management of his own affairs; he has found the terms of sale and payment changed to his disadvantage

and he has been forced to carry more and more of the risks of trade. He is convinced that there are no good trusts and that his only safety is in the Democratic plan which lays the axe at the root of the tree.

The traveling men naturally take especial interest in the trust question, because the more complete the monopoly secured by a corporation the less they are needed. We have no more intelligent class than these representatives of commerce, and their retirement from the road would mean a serious loss to the country, while a few promoters would be the only persons benefited, they gaining by the capitalization of the salaries saved by the elimination of competition.

Mr. Taft either misunderstands or misrepresents the Democratic position in regard to the extermination of the principle of private monopoly. In his notification speech, he says:

"Mr. Roosevelt would compel the trusts to conduct their business in a lawful manner and secure the benefits of their operation and the maintenance of the prosperity of the country of which they are an important part; while Mr. Bryan would extirpate and destroy the entire business in order to stamp out the evils which they have practiced."

Here is a confession by Mr. Taft that he regards the trusts as necessary to the nation's prosperity, for he declares that they play an important part in the maintenance of prosperity, and he charges that I would "extirpate and destroy" business in extirpating and destroying the principle of private monopoly. Surely, his study of the trust question has been very superficial, if he sees danger in the restoration of a reign of competition.

Let us take an illustration: Suppose the Democrats succeed in the enactment of a law in harmony with the Democratic platform—a law requiring every corporation to take out a federal license before it is permitted to control twenty-five per cent. of the business in which it is engaged. Would this "extirpate and destroy" the business of the country? As already stated, but a very small per cent. of the corporations would be affected by the law, and those affected would be the ones that have been giving the officers of the law so much trouble during the last eighteen years. As the licensed corporation increased its business from twenty-five per cent. to fifty per cent., it would be under the watchful eye of the Government, would be compelled to make such reports as the Government required, would be prohibited from watering its stock, and would be required to sell to all customers upon the same terms, due allowance being made for cost of transportation. Would it "extirpate and destroy" business to require the licensed corporations to do business on an honest basis and to be reasonable in their business methods? Would not the benefit accruing to the ninety-nine small corporations thus protected from conscienceless methods be enough to offset any evil effects that might follow from such restraint of a few big corporations? Is business so dependent upon dishonesty and unfairness that it would be "extirpated and destroyed" if morals were introduced into it?

When the licensed corporation reached a point where it controlled one-half of the business in which it was engaged, it would, according to the Demo-

cratic plan, have to stop expanding. Would it "extirpate and destroy" business to put this limitation upon the greed of a few corporations? Surely our plan could not injuriously affect corporations that might hereafter seek to establish a monopoly.

But possibly Mr. Taft thinks that it would "extirpate and destroy" business to apply the plan to existing monopolies. Let us see: Suppose we have a corporation now controlling seventy-five per cent. of the output of the article in which it deals, and through this control, regulating the price and the terms of sale. How would the Democratic plan affect it? A date would be fixt at which the law would take effect, and on or before that date the corporation would be required to apply for a license. The evidence would show that it controlled a larger proportion of the product than the law permitted, and it would be compelled to sell off enough of its plants to reduce its output to fifty per cent. of the total product. It could then comply with the law, obtain its license, and proceed to carry on its business in accordance with the law. Would it "extirpate and destroy" business to compel such a corporation to dispose of enough of its plants to reduce its production to fifty per cent? The people would still need the article which it produced, and the plants which it was compelled to sell would become independent plants competing with it. This competition would reduce prices, and the reduced prices would increase the demand for the article, and this increased demand would stimulate the building of more factories and give a larger employment to labor. The restoration of compe-

tition in that industry, instead of "extirpating and destroying" the industry, would revive and enlarge it. A part of the benefit would go to the consumers in the form of a cheaper product and a better product, part would go to the producer of raw material in the form of a better price, and part would go to the wage-earners in the form of better wages. The only persons to lose would be the trust magnates, who would no longer be able to collect dividends on watered stock by controlling the market. When the subject is analyzed it will be seen that Mr. Taft must either be in darkness as to the remedy and its effect, or he must be opposed to the restoration of competition.

I have quoted and requoted Mr. Taft's language because I want to impress upon the minds of those who listen to me the absurdity of the objection which he raises to the Democratic plan of exterminating monopolies. He fails to distinguish between the honest business that makes a country prosperous, and the brigandage practised by private monopolies. The people have been robbed by the trusts to the extent of hundreds of millions a year, and if Mr. Taft is not yet conscious of what is going on, and not yet aroused to the iniquity of these trusts, how can the country hope for relief through his election?

The Democratic party is the defender of competition and the only great party which is seeking to restore competition. Mr. Taft has, in the discussion of this question, employed harsh words instead of argument. The word "socialistic" is hurled at the Democratic party and the Democratic plat-

form. Now, as a matter of fact, it is Mr. Taft's party and not the Democratic party which has given encouragement to socialism. While professing to abhor socialism, the Republican party has gone half way toward socialism in indorsing its fundamental principle. The socialist bases his contention on the theory that competition is bad, and that an economic advance is to be found in monopoly. The socialist, however, wants the public to have the benefit of the monopoly and, therefore, favors Government ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution.

The Republican party has gone almost as far as the Socialist party in the economic defense of the monopoly, but it permits the benefits of monopoly to be enjoyed by a comparatively few men, who have secured a dominant influence in the Government. I beg to call Mr. Taft's attention to the fact that the Republican party has stimulated the growth of socialism in two ways: First, by the indorsement that it has given to the theory that trusts are a natural and necessary outgrowth of our economic conditions, and, second, by permitting the development of abuses which have been charged against individualism. If he will examine the vote published in the World Almanac, he will find that in 1900 the Republicans polled 7,208,244 votes and that the Socialists polled but 85,991; in the same almanac, he will find that in 1904 the Republicans cast 7,625,489 votes and the Socialists 402,286. Notwithstanding the fact that the Republicans have boasted of their last national victory, their party polled but 417,000 more votes that year than four

years before. This scarcely more than covered the natural increase in the Republican portion of the population, while the Socialist vote increased more than three hundred per cent., and the increase in the number of votes was almost as great as the increase in Republican votes.

The Republican leaders have been in the habit of sneering at the Socialists, while blindly indifferent to the causes that have contributed to the growth of socialism. The Democrats recognize that Socialists are honestly seeking a remedy for the "known abuses" admitted by Secretary Taft. Democrats dissent from the remedy proposed by the Socialists, believing that Socialists are mistaken and that the Democratic remedy is better, but it is time for thoughtful people to recognize that individualism can only be retained and safeguarded by remedial legislation which will remove the abuses which have been allowed to fasten themselves upon the country. The Democratic party, believing in individualism, addresses itself earnestly to these abuses, and instead of ridiculing and maligning the Socialists, invites them, as it does the Republicans, to examine the Democratic platform and the remedies proposed therein. It submits its plans to the honest citizenship of the country, without regard to section or party.

In my notification speech I called attention to three demands made by our party. It asks, first, that the Government shall be taken out of the hands of special interests, and restored to the people as a whole; it adds, second, for honesty in elections and publicity in regard to campaign funds, that the

people may freely choose representatives in sympathy with them and pledged to guard their interests; it asks, third, for such a modification of our Governmental methods as will make the Senate an elective body, and place the control of the House of Representatives in the hands of a majority of its members. A few days ago, in discussing the tariff question, I dwelt upon the fourth demand made by our party, namely, that taxation be just, that the revenue laws be made for the purpose of raising revenue and not for the enrichment of a few at the expense of the many, and that the tariff law be supplemented by an income tax which will more nearly equalize the Government's burdens. Today I present another demand made in our party platform—the demand that the grip of the trusts be broken, that competition be restored and that the door of opportunity be opened to the business men and the toilers of the land.

Industrial independence is necessary to political independence. The free exercise of the rights of citizenship is impossible when a few men control the industries in which millions are employed. God forbid that we should compel the wage-earners of the nation to address their petitions to trust magnates, and ask for their daily bread. Already we have seen how prone the monopolist is to make employment depend upon the willingness of the employe to prostitute his ballot to the service of his corporate master.

This question should be settled now; we cannot afford to bequeath it as a legacy of wo to a succeeding generation. The conscience of the people

is already awakened, and the conscience is the most potent force of which man has knowledge. Where law makes one righteous, conscience controls a hundred; where one is kept from wrong-doing by fear of prison doors, a thousand are restrained by those invisible walls which conscience rears about us—barriers which are stronger than walls of granite. It is upon the conscience that human institutions rest, and without a stirring of the conscience no great reform is possible. To a national conscience already aroused we appeal, with the pledge that a Democratic victory will mean the ringing out of industrial despotism and the ringing in of a new era in which business will be built upon its merits, and in which men will succeed, not in proportion to the coercion they may be able to practise, but in proportion to their industry, their ability and their fidelity.

X

GUARANTEED DEPOSITS

Delivered in Topeka, Kan., on Aug. 27, 1908.

WHY not make the depositor secure? The United States Government requires the deposit of specific security when it entrusts money to a national bank, altho it can examine the bank at any time; the State requires security when it deposits money in a bank; the county requires security and the city requires security; even the banks require security from the officials who handle money. Why should the depositor be left to take his chances?

Not only is the depositor without protection, but the security given to nation, state, county and city lessens his security. They are preferred creditors; they have a mortgage on the gilt-edged assets and the depositor must get along as best he can with what remains. Why are the interests of depositors thus neglected?

A bank asks deposits on the theory that the depositor is sure of the return of his money, and the laws ought to make the facts conform to the theory. The depositor, the community and the banker himself will be benefited by legislation which will give to every depositor the assurance that that which is committed to the keeping of the bank will be avail-

able to meet his needs at any time. Such is not the case to-day, for while all banks are reasonably secure, they are not absolutely so. This statement can be verified in several ways.

First: The President has advocated a postal savings bank, and his postmaster-general, in presenting an argument in its favor, pointed out that many millions are sent to European savings banks every year by Americans of foreign birth, who prefer to trust the state institutions of the nations beyond the sea rather than the private banking institutions here.

Second: It is known that a considerable amount of money is in hiding, the amount increasing with the approach of a panic or business depression. This money is not only withdrawn from active use, but is likely to be withdrawn just at the time when money is most needed and when the withdrawal will increase the financial disturbance. It is impossible to reason with fear; it is futile to tell men that they will probably get their money. The moment the depositors suspect a bank, they hasten to destroy its solvency. Distrust, and distrust alone, can explain the hiding of money.

Third: The increase in the issue of money orders, payable to the order of the purchaser, is another evidence that people are seeking greater security for their money. The banks will pay an interest upon deposits, and yet those who buy money orders prefer to lose the interest and, in addition to that, pay the price of the money order to secure the Government's guaranty.

Fourth: National banks confess that their banks

are not secure when they oppose the guaranty of State banks on the ground that it would lessen the deposits in national banks; and State bankers confess that their banks are not secure when they oppose a national guaranty system on the ground that it will draw deposits away from State banks. If you want to find whether banks are absolutely secure, ask the directors to give you their personal note to secure your deposit and you will learn that they will not bear the risk which they ask you to bear.

Fifth: The experience of Oklahoma furnished conclusive proof that depositors do not feel that their money is safe in unsecured banks. On the 17th of December, 1907, the Oklahoma Legislature enacted a depositors' guaranty law, which became operative February 4th, 1908. By the provisions of this law, all State banks, and as many National banks as desire to avail themselves of the law, are taxed one per cent. on their deposits, and the money thus collected is put into a guaranty fund. The banking board is authorized to make additional assessments from time to time to keep the fund up to this amount, and is directed to take possession of any insolvent bank, pay the depositors in full, and reimburse the fund by collecting the assets of the failed bank. Five hundred and fifty-five banks, including fifty-four National banks, had come under the provisions of this law on the 14th of last May, leaving but 255 unsecured banks (all National) in the State. Statements are made by the banks in December and May. Between these periods the secured banks gained in deposits $4,237,765.22, while

the unsecured banks, all National, showed a decrease in deposits of $1,101,807.86. A large part of this increase represented money brought from hiding or from without the State, but the decrease in the unsecured banks can only be explained in one way. *A large number of depositors withdrew their money from the unsecured banks, and deposited it in the secured banks,* and this, too, in spite of the fact that in order to prevent withdrawals, the unsecured banks, in some instances, offered a higher rate of interest than the secured banks were permitted to pay; and it must be remembered also that the banks which suffered a loss of deposits were all National banks. And to make it certain that the difference was caused by the guaranty law, the *secured* National banks gained, while the *unsecured* banks lost. While the deposits were increasing in the guaranteed banks of Oklahoma, they were failing in the State banks and trust companies of Kansas—the decrease being $1,153,026.27 between March 31st and June 13th.

No amount of criticism of the timid depositor can change the facts; the people who deposit money want more security than the laws at present give them. They will change banks to get more security, and, if necessary, they will send their money to another State.

For many years efforts have been made in Congress and in the various States to secure a law guaranteeing deposits, but the influence of the great banking institutions has been sufficient to prevent action. Last fall, however, when the banks, by a concerted action, suspended payments on checks,

the depositors were everywhere brought to a realization of the fact that their deposits are, in fact, loans, payable on demand under ordinary circumstances, but payable at the will of the bank in emergencies. The depositors suffered a considerable loss during the suspension of payments, and they have not forgotten the lesson which they then learned. The Democratic party, being more free than the Republican party to respond to the needs of the masses of the people, inserted the following plank in its national platform:

"We pledge ourselves to legislation by which the national banks shall be required to establish a guaranty fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank, under an equitable system which shall be available to all State banking institutions wishing to use it."

This principle has been applied in Oklahoma and the results have been very satisfactory. The average annual loss to depositors in National banks during the last forty years has been less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the deposits, and the loss to the fund in Oklahoma, under better regulations and restrictions, has been absolutely nothing during the six months in which the law has been in operation.

The Republican platform is silent on the subject, and the Republican candidate not only does not advocate a compulsory system, but specifically and emphatically opposes it. He says:

"The democratic platform recommends a tax upon national banks and upon such State banks as may come in, in the nature of enforced insurance to raise a guaranty fund to pay the depositors of any bank which fails."

And then he questions the right of the Government to enact such a law, saying:

"How State banks can be included in such a scheme under the constitution is left in the twilight zone of State rights and federalism so frequently dimming the meaning and purpose of the promises of the platform. If they come in under such a system, they must necessarily be brought within the closest national control, and so they must really cease to be State banks and become national banks."

His solicitude for the State bank will hardly impress the country, for he is quite indifferent to States and their reserved rights when he deals with other subjects. When Congress is in the control of those who want to legislate for the whole people rather than for the few, it will not be difficult to frame a law under which State banks can avail themselves of the advantages of a federal law guaranteeing the deposits of National banks, just as it was easy in Oklahoma to frame a law which permitted National banks to take advantage of the State guaranty system. It will also be easy to enact a federal law which will permit National banks to avail themselves of State guaranty systems until a National system can be secured. Attorney-General Bonaparte's ruling, whether it correctly interprets the law or not, would not bring such consternation as it does if the Republican candidate favored a law allowing National banks to take advantage of State systems for the protection of depositors, but Mr. Taft's hostility to all guaranty systems is shown in the objection which he offers:

"The proposition is to tax the honest and prudent banker to make up for the dishonesty and imprudence of others. No one can foresee the burden which, under this system, would be imposed upon the sound and conservative bankers of the

country by this obligation to make good the losses caused by the reckless, speculative and dishonest men, who would be enabled to secure deposits under such a system on the faith of the proposed insurance; as in its present shape, the proposal would remove all safeguards against recklessness in banking, and the chief, and, in the end, probably the only, benefit would accrue to the speculator, who would be delighted to enter the banking business when it was certain that he could enjoy any profit that would accrue, while the risk would have to be assumed by his honest and hard-working fellow."

He even pictures dire disaster and declares that "if the proposal were adopted exactly as the Democratic platform suggests, it would bring the whole banking system of the country down in ruin."

As an afterthought, he suggests that a voluntary system might be tolerated, but as his objections to a compulsory system apply just as well to a voluntary system we may fairly count him against all legislation which has for its object the guaranty of depositors.

As Mr. Taft's argument is that presented by the big banks which put their own selfish interests above the welfare of the depositors and the safety of the community, it is worth while to answer the several propositions which he advances.

Let us take the first sentence, that "the honest and prudent banker would be taxed to make up for the dishonesty and imprudence of others." Is not this true of all restrictions on banking? Does not the honest and prudent banker, under existing laws, suffer in order that the depositor may be protected from the dishonest and imprudent? If we had no banking laws at all, and banking was done by private individuals, the honest and prudent banker would save the money that he now pays for en-

forced examinations of his bank, and he could at times make interest on a part of the money which he is now required to keep in his vault as a rigid reserve. But because some bankers are not prudent, these laws place a burden upon the good as well as upon the bad, it being difficult to distinguish the prudent banker from the imprudent one until a bank actually fails.

In like manner it might be said that if all people were careful about fire, fire insurance rates need not be as high as they are, but the careful have to pay higher rates than they should because some are not careful. Life insurance rates are higher than would be necessary to cover the actual risk if everybody took care of his health, and here, too, the cautious are burdened because some are careless of their health. All insurance is open to the same objection, and yet insurance of all forms is growing, and the insurance of depositors is growing in popularity more rapidly than any other form of insurance—and, I may add, it yields the largest return on the investment.

Mr. Taft complains that "no one can foresee the burden which, under this system, would be imposed upon the sound and conservative bankers of the country by this obligation to make good the losses caused by the reckless, speculative and dishonest men," etc. We have the past to guide us, and we have reason to believe that the loss will be less in the future than in the past, because when banks become mutually responsible for each other's deposits they will be sufficiently interested in each other to favor better regulation and greater restrictions.

What has Mr. Taft done to protect depositors from recklessness and speculation? While he refuses to protect depositors, he praises the Aldrich-Vreeland law, which invites speculation and stock jobbing. In declaring that the system proposed by the Democrats "would remove all safeguards against recklessness in banking," Mr. Taft betrays an ignorance of the subject, for the plan does not propose the removal of any safeguards. In fact, it contemplates better regulations of the banks, and Oklahoma has already made the banking regulations more strict.

He declares that "the only benefit would accrue to the speculator, who would be delighted to enter the banking business when it was certain that he could enjoy any profit that would accrue, while the risk would have to be assumed by his honest and hard-working fellow." The present banking law requires that a certain amount of capital shall be invested in the business, and that law would still stand. To enter the banking business, therefore, a man would either have to have the capital himself or secure the confidence of men who had the capital. And this capital, together with the 100 per cent. liability, would be a guaranty that the stockholders would not intentionally select careless officials. Why would a "speculator" be "delighted to enter the banking business" under the guaranty system? He is not relieved from pecuniary obligation, nor is he relieved from criminal liability. He would have nothing to gain by carelessness, nor would the stockholders have anything to gain by indifference.

The chief cause of bank failures is the making of

excessive loans to directors or officials of the bank. This is the fruitful cause of disaster, and it has been impossible to secure legislation protecting banks from their own officials and directors. Why? Because there has been no mutual responsibility. When all banks become liable for the deposits of each, the stockholders will insist upon the enactment of a law making it a criminal offense for a bank official to loan more than the prescribed amount to one individual. At present we have a law prohibiting the loaning of more than one-tenth of the capital and surplus to one person or corporation, but the law is only directory. Of course, the comptroller can suspend a bank if it violates the law, but the law is not enforced, because the enforcement of such a law would throw the punishment upon innocent stockholders and upon the community, since the suspension of a bank inflicts a great loss upon stockholders and disturbs the business of the city or town in which the bank is located.

The law should make it a criminal offense to loan more than the prescribed amount to one person, and we would probably be able to secure the passage of a law prohibiting market speculation by bank officials.

The Oklahoma plan is working satisfactorily. A bank recently failed in Oklahoma; within forty-eight minutes after the notice of suspension, the officer in charge had authority to pay all depositors, and then the banking board proceeded to collect the assets of the bank and to prosecute the officials criminally. When the business was closed up, the stock-

holders passed a resolution thanking the State board for its prompt action, the action of the board being a protection to the stockholders, as well as to the depositors and to the public generally.

Compare this failure under the guaranty system with a failure where there is no guaranty. In Oklahoma the bank commissioner telephoned the farmers to come in and get their money, and the answer was: "I am busy to-day with my crop; I will be in in a day or two."

In Cleveland, Ohio, a bank failed about the same time, and the papers announced "twelve hundred infuriated Italians stormed the closed doors of the busted banking house of Costan Liopea, on Orange street, to-day. The police drove the crowd back."

An objection is sometimes made to the guaranty law that a "new bank would start up across the street," and, being able to promise its depositors absolute security through the guaranty law, could draw the deposits away from conservatively managed banks by offering a higher rate of interest than the latter could pay. This objection is urged as if it were an unanswerable one. But let us see how easily it can be met. Since the law makes all of the banks liable for the obligations of each bank, the law should prohibit any abuse of this security by any bank, and in Oklahoma the banking board has already fixt the rate of interest that can be paid to depositors. According to the rules of the banking board, no bank is permitted to pay more than three per cent. on short-time deposits or more than four per cent. on time deposits running for six months or more.

It has also been urged as an objection that under the guaranty system a big bank would have no advantage over a little bank. Even if this argument were sound, it could not weigh against the advantages of the system, for banks are made for the people, not the people for the banks. While there are advantages in having big banks, the advantages are not sufficient to justify the jeopardizing of the depositor or of the business interests of a community.

But, as a matter of fact, the big bank would still have several advantages over the small one. In the first place, it could make larger loans than the small bank. For instance, a bank with $1,000,000 capital and surplus could, as at present, loan $100,000 to one person, while a bank with $100,000 capital and surplus could only loan $10,000 to one person. This advantage would in itself draw to the large bank the large deposits and the men doing business upon a large scale, for deposits follow accommodations.

Then, too, there is a certain business advantage in depositing with a big bank. It is worth something to be able to refer to a big bank when one's financial standing is being investigated, and worth still more to have the advice of a man of large business experience when business enterprises are being considered.

Besides these, there is a social advantage in being on good terms with the men who are prominent in the banking world. Surely the big bank's prestige will be worth enough to it under the guaranty system; it should not begrudge the smaller banks the advantage which the guaranty of deposits will bring to them.

I cannot pass from this subject without referring to the fact that the big bank needs the guaranty as well as the little one, for big banks fail as well as small banks, and the bigger the bank the greater the calamity to the community when it fails. No bank is so big as to be absolutely beyond danger, and a community needs protection against the big banks' failure even more than against the failure of the small banks.

It has sometimes been objected that the guaranty system would bring into the banking business a lower class of men and reduce the average in character. On the contrary, the guaranty of deposits, I submit, would, if it made any difference in this respect, bring into the banking business a better class of men and raise, if that is possible, the average of character. It is not to a man's discredit that he is not willing that one of his fellow men should lose money on his account. Is it not a mark of character that a man should be careful of his good name and considerate of the esteem of his fellows? At present a successful farmer or business man may be induced to take stock in a bank. It may be that his name is desired to give standing and credit to the bank, but such a man is constantly haunted by the fear that a bank official may be guilty of criminal conduct which will bring the bank into insolvency. It is even possible that the banks assets may be entirely dissipated, and that the honest citizen, who has become a stockholder, may either be compelled to go beyond his legal ability or meet the bitter criticism of the depositors who have suffered by the failure. Would

it not be worth something to the stockholder, in peace of mind, to know that the maximum of his loss would be the value of his stock and the 100 per cent. liability, and that no depositor could lose anything? I am convinced that the guaranty of deposits would not lead to degeneration in the personnel of the bankers.

To justify a law guaranteeing depositors, it is not necessary to show that the advantage to the bankers would amount to more than the tax. The examination of the banks would continue to be made at the expense of the banks, even if it were certain that the examination was of no pecuniary advantage to the banks. The law would continue to require a certain amount of reserve to be kept on hand, even if it were certain that such a law brought no pecuniary gain to the bank; and so the banks ought to be compelled to insure their depositors against loss, even if it could not be shown that such insurance would bring a compensating advantage to the bank. The bank charter has a value; if it were not valuable the bank would not be organized. The bank charter is a gift from the people through the law, and the people who authorize the establishment of a bank have a right to demand, in return, that the bank shall keep the pledge which it gives when it invites deposits, and make good its promises of security to those who deal with it.

But as a matter of fact, the banks will, as a rule, gain more from the law than they will lose by the tax imposed by the law. The experience of the Oklahoma banks shows this. The interest

collected upon the increased deposits will far more than pay the losses occasioned by insolvency. But two Oklahoma banks have failed and the assets have in both cases been sufficient to reimburse the fund.

Then, too, the banks must remember that the question is not merely whether depositors shall be made secure, but whether the security shall be given by the banks themselves or by the Government through a postal savings bank.

The refusal of the banks to permit the passage of a law granting security to depositors is responsible for the growth of the sentiment in favor of the Government savings bank, and the sentiment will continue to grow unless something is done to satisfy the demands of the people upon this subject.

The Republican party proposes the establishment of a postal savings bank system; the Democratic party prefers the guaranteed bank because it is better for the depositor and better for the banker—it gives the depositor the security which he needs and yet leaves the banking business in the hands of the banks. But the Democratic platform declares for "a postal savings bank IF THE GUARANTEED BANK CAN NOT BE SECURED," and in November more than ninety per cent. of the voters will by their ballots demand either the guaranteed bank or the postal savings bank. Can the financiers prevent the carrying out of this demand?

The Republican platform does not go into detail, but it is fair to assume that the postal savings bank plank is intended as an indorsement of the postal

savings bank system proposed by the President and Postmaster-General. Under this plan the Federal Government would invite the deposit of savings, a limit being placed upon the amount that each person of each family could deposit. According to this plan, the business man would not be protected, for he uses a checking account instead of a savings account; but no one can doubt that the successful operation of a government savings bank would ultimately lead to an extension of the plan until the government bank would include the ordinary checking account and be open to deposits without limit. It would mean a long contest between the depositors and the bankers, but a contest which must in the end be decided on the side of the depositors. The bank must decide, therefore, whether he will favor a postal savings bank which, in the absence of the guaranteed bank, will grow until it absorbs the banking business, or preserve the present system of banking by giving to the people, through a guaranty law, the protection which they must otherwise find in a government bank.

The Democratic plan, therefore, contemplates a less radical change than the Republican plan. In his notification speech Mr. Taft charged the Democrats with being socialistic in some of their remedies. The charge was not well founded, but I might reply by charging him with advocating an unnecessary extension of the Government's sphere of activity in the establishment of the postal savings bank, when the guaranteed bank would answer the same purpose without any considerable increase in the num-

ber of Government employes. I would rather see the banks attend to the banking business than to have it transferred to the Government, and because I prefer to have the banking business done by the banks rather than by the Government, I urge the guaranty of deposits as the easiest solution of our difficulties.

There are only 20,000 banks, while there are 15,000,000 depositors, and I do not hesitate to declare that in a conflict between the two, the depositors have a prior claim to consideration. If we estimate the average number of stockholders of each bank at seventy-five—and that is a liberal estimate—the total number of stockholders would only be a million and a half, or one-tenth as many as there are depositors. The stockholder is not compelled to buy stock, while the depositor is compelled to use the banks, both for his own sake and for the sake of the community, for only by using the banks can he keep his money a part of the circulating medium. The guaranty law, therefore, brings the greatest good to the greatest number, as well as to those who have the greater equity upon their side.

There is another reason why the claim of the depositor is superior to the claim of the stockholder. The stockholder has a voice in the selection of the bank officials; the depositor has not. If any one must lose, therefore, as the result of bad management, it ought to be the stockholder rather than the depositor. And, I venture to ask, if the bankers will not trust each other, why should they expect the depositors to trust the banks?

And there is still another advantage: By drawing money from hiding and by preventing runs on banks the guaranteed bank will greatly lessen the demand for an emergency currency.

We are fortunate, however, in that we are not compelled to choose between justice to the depositor and justice to the stockholder, for, as has been shown before, the plan which we propose, not only does justice to both, but brings advantage to both. More than that, the plan which we propose protects the banker—and it is his only protection—against the establishment of a government bank, with indefinite encroachments upon the banker's business. With the guaranteed bank established, Government savings banks would only be needed in the towns and villages where there were no guaranteed banks.

If we had to choose between the interests of the bank and the interests of the community, we would be compelled to protect the interests of the community first; but here, too, we are fortunate, for we are not driven to this alternative. That which protects the community protects the bank also, for when there are several banks in the community, the failure of one often causes a run upon the others, and the insolvency of one bank is such a menace to the solvency of others that the solvent banks often join together and assume the liabilities of the insolvent one for their own protection. As an illustration of this, I point to the action of the Chicago banks in assuming the liabilities of the Walsh banks, at a heavy loss to themselves.

There is another advantage which the guaranty of depositors brings to the banks—it protects the

reserves deposited in other banks. During the panic last fall the reserves caused the most of the trouble. The small banks wanted to withdraw their reserves from the city banks, and the big banks in the cities were not prepared to meet the strain. With deposits guaranteed, there would be no runs on local banks and no sudden withdrawal of reserves.

I have selected the capital of the State of Kansas as the most appropriate place for the delivery of a speech upon this subject, because your neighbor upon the south has been a pioneer in this reform. Her plan, as you know, has been such a signal success that deposits have been drawn across the line from your State into Oklahoma. The alarm caused by this invasion of your banking territory caused your Governor to include in his call for a special session a recommendation of the passage of a law similar to that of Oklahoma. When the legislature met, however, the influence of the large banks was sufficient to prevent the needed legislation, and your State still suffers. The people of Kansas have had an object lesson; they know the necessity for a law guaranteeing deposits. They have seen its beneficent results in a sister State; they have seen fifty-four national banks taking advantage of the State system and reaping a rich reward. I have made inquiry and find that many Kansas bankers favor the adoption of a guaranty system—three-fourths of those who have replied have declared for the guaranteed bank. They have heard the echo of the blow that has been struck at the national banks of Oklahoma by the attorney-general's ruling, which denies to such banks the right to share in the

benefits of the State guaranty system—that echo being the surrender of charters by national banks which prefer to become State banks rather than surrender the benefits of the guaranty system. Four national banks have surrendered their charters and are now conducted as State banks, while sixteen more have applied for State charters. Your people have also seen how the influence of a few big banks, concentrated upon a legislature, can defeat the wishes of the smaller banks and the desire of the depositors all over the State.

I submit that in this effort to make all banks secure, the Democratic party is the champion of the farmer, the laboring man, the business man, the professional man, and the champion of the banker as well. No class is outside of the benefits of this law, for it bestows its blessings upon all.

Why has the Republican party been so quick to respond to the demands of Wall street and so slow to yield to the demands of the masses? There are two reasons: first, the Republican party has allowed itself to become the servant of the favor-seeking corporations; and, second, too many Republican leaders look at questions from the aristocratic standpoint, the standpoint of the few, rather than from the Democratic standpoint, the standpoint of the many. They legislate upon the theory that society is suspended from the top, and they fail, therefore, to understand either the evils that afflict the body politic, or the remedies that are needed. The Democratic party, viewing questions from the standpoint of the whole people, easily sees that which Republican leaders do not discover, and its

remedies begin with the relief of the average man. This is the secret, if secret there be, of the primacy of our party in matters of reform.

When Solomon was invited to choose what he would, he asked for an understanding heart, that he might discern between the good and the bad, and he was told that, because he had chosen wisdom rather than wealth or long life, he should have, not only wisdom, but riches and length of days as well. And so when a party determines to seek first that which benefits the common people, it finds that in acting in the interest of the common people, it also promotes the welfare of the smaller classes which rest upon the masses, for when the producers of wealth prosper, their prosperity is shared by every element of society.

XI

IN CHICAGO ON LABOR DAY

Delivered in Chicago on Sept. 7, 1908, by invitation of the Federation of Labor of that city.

LABOR DAY is a legal holiday and it was made so because the legislators thought the wage-earners worthy to have a day specially set apart for the consideration of themes that concern those who toil. I appreciate the compliment paid me by the program committee of this city in inviting me to participate in the ceremonies of this day, and the invitation was gladly accepted, because Chicago is the second city in the Union, and as a labor center it is scarcely second to any city in the world.

If it were proper to speak from a text, I would select a passage from Proverbs, for I know of no better one than that furnished by the words of Solomon when he declared that as a man "thinketh in his heart, so is he." This is Bible doctrine; it is common sense, and it is human experience. We think in our hearts as well as in our heads—out of the heart "are the issues of life." It is a poor head that cannot find a plausible reason for doing what the heart wants to do. I begin my speech with this proposition because I want to impress it upon the minds of those who listen to me, and upon those who read what I say to you. The labor question is more a moral than an intellectual one.

Tolstoy, the great Russian philosopher, in defining the doctrine of "bread labor," gives as one of the reasons in support of it, that personal contact with manual labor—not a recollection of former toil, but continued acquaintance with it—is necessary to keep one in sympathy with those who work with their hands. He contends—and is it not true?—that lack of sympathy, one with another, is at the root of most of the problems of society and government.

The world is growing toward brotherhood, and our nation is leading the way. There is more altruism in this country than anywhere else in the world, and more today than there ever has been before. There is more recognition of the kinship that exists between us, more thought about the questions which concern a common humanity, than at any preceding time. The labor organization is a part of this great movement of the masses toward closer fellowship. It has worked wonders in the past and its work is only commenced.

The labor organization helps those outside of it as well as its members because the increased wages and improved conditions are shared by non-union men as well as by union men.

Do not understand me to say that a labor organization is perfect; "the king can do no wrong" can no more be spoken of a group than of individuals. The labor organization is composed of men; its affairs are controlled by human beings, and human beings are not perfect. All that man touches is stained with man's imperfections, and his frailty can be traced through all his works. But, fortu-

nately for the laboring man, the judgment pronounced against his mistakes must be tempered by the fact that those with whom the laboring man comes into contact are also likely to err. When the employe deals with the employer, he is dealing with one of like passions with himself. Each is likely to be insistent upon what he believes to be right, and the opinion of each, as to what is right, is likely to be colored by selfish interests and affected by incomplete information as to the facts. If the employe has sometimes resorted to violence to enforce his wishes, the employer has sometimes employed his position to secure an unfair share of the joint product. It is the province of the law to place limitations upon both, and the security of our Government is found in the fact that both employer and employe, in their calmer moments, will join in the enactment of laws which will restrain them in moments of temptation. Some assume that labor is lawless and that to settle the labor question permanently we need only enforce the law rigorously. I yield to none in insistence upon obedience to the law. Law is necessary in human society, and its enforcement is essential to peace and order, but we must remedy abuses by law if we would insure respect for, and obedience to law.

The important lesson to be learned by the citizen in a government like ours is that the ballot is both shield and sword—it protects him from injury and enforces his rights.

The first thing that is needed for a better understanding of labor questions is the recognition of the equal rights of all, and, second, more intimate

acquaintance. We have rights that may be called natural rights; they are inherent; we have them because we are human beings. The Government did not bestow them upon us—the Government cannot rightfully withdraw them from us. We all come into the world without our volition: the environment of youth largely determines the course of our lives, and this environment is not of our choosing. We live under the same moral obligations, and are responsible to the same Supreme Being. We have our needs that must be supplied; we require food, clothing, shelter, companionship. We have our domestic ties, and the tenderness of these ties is not measured by wealth or position in society. Man has used petty distinctions to separate society into different classes, but these distinctions are insignificant when compared with the great similarities that unite us in a common destiny and impel us toward a common end.

On this day it is well to emphasize the fact that we are linked together by bonds which we could not break if we would and should not weaken if we could. It ought to be easy to learn this lesson in the United States, for here more than anywhere else, people feel their interdependence. We have no law of primogeniture to separate the oldest son from his brothers and sisters; and we have no law of entail to prevent the alienation of an estate. There is no aristocracy resting upon birth or kingly favor; and if the people perform their civic duties, there will be no plutocracy ruling in the name of the dollar. Here the road to advancement is a public highway, and it is within

our power to keep it open to all alike. Here, too, the Government is within the control of the people, and no department of the service is out of the reach of the voter or beyond the influence of public opinion. Under our constitution, some branches of the Government are more quickly responsive than others to the public will, but our Government can be controlled by the people, from the organic law which we call the constitution to the statute and the court's decree.

A long step toward the elevation of labor to its proper position in the nation's deliberations is to be found in the establishment of a Department of Labor, with a cabinet officer at its head. The wage-earners deserve this recognition, and the executive is entitled to the assistance which such an official could render him. I regard the inauguration of this reform as the opening of a new era in which those who toil will have a voice in the deliberations of the President's council chamber.

The labor organization has been seriously handicapped by the fact that it has been—and I am not sure that it has been done unwittingly—yoked up with the industrial combinations known as trusts. The proneness of trust defenders to use the labor organization as an excuse for combinations in restraint of trade has aroused the suspicion that they have been classed together for the purpose of shielding the combinations of capital. As the result of eighteen years of anti-trust legislation, only one man has been given a penal sentence for violating the federal law on this subject, and that man was a member of a labor organization rather

than a trust magnate. The laboring man is justified in his demand that a distinction shall be drawn between the labor organization and the industrial monopoly.

The trust and the labor organization cannot be described in the same language. The trust magnates have used their power to amass swollen fortunes, while no one will say that the labor organization has as yet secured for its members more than their share of the profits arising from their work. But there are fundamental differences. The trust is a combination of dollars; the labor organization is an association of human beings. In a trust a few men attempt to control the product of others; in a labor organization, the members unite for the protection of that which is their own, namely, their own labor, which, being necessary to their existence, is a part of them. The trust deals with dead matter; the labor organization deals with life and with intellectual and moral forces. No impartial student of the subject will deny the right of the laboring man to exemption from the operation of the existing anti-trust law.

If the labor organization needs to be regulated by law, let it be regulated by a law which deals with man as man, and not by a law that was aimed to prevent the cornering of a commodity or the forestalling of the market.

I shall not speak of the eight-hour day, or of the employer's liability act, because both of the leading parties have endorsed these reforms; the only question to be considered is: which party can best be trusted to secure these reforms? I need

hardly assure you that I am heartily in favor of both reforms.

There are two questions, however, intimately connected with the labor problem upon which the Democratic and Republican parties do not agree, and I not only feel at liberty to discuss these, but, under the circumstances, I have no right to ignore them. One relates to the issue of injunctions, and the other to contempt cases arising under injunctions. The Republican convention did not deal candidly with the laboring man on the subject of the writ of injunction. Secretary Taft has endeavored to amend his platform in this respect and to make some promises, which are not supported by his platform, but his promises offer nothing substantial in the way of reform, and are not binding on Republican senators and members. The Republican Congress has already made a record on labor questions, and the Republican party cannot escape from that record.

Mr. Taft's speech may be considered as binding upon him, but the convention which elected the Republican candidates endorsed the Republican platform—not Mr. Taft's personal views. The Republican platform, while pretending to pledge some modifications of the law, contains an exception clause which reiterates the very language of the law. Whether this exception clause was inserted by accident or design, the effect is the same. It merely provides, in substance, that restraining orders shall not issue without notice except where such order can now issue without notice. The platform was a triumph for those who have been

opposing the laboring man, and they have been boasting of their victory.

The Democratic platform on this subject copies the language which the labor organizations submitted to the Republican and Democratic conventions. Mr. Taft, in his notification speech, objects to the language. He charges that the anti-injunction plank was "loosely drawn," and framed for "the especial purpose of rendering it susceptible to one interpretation by one set of men, and a diametrically opposite interpretation by another." As Mr. Taft has had long experience on the bench, and is therefore skilled in the interpretation of language, I ask him to give us, if he can, two opposite interpretations of the language. That plank demands that "all parties to all judicial proceedings shall be treated with rigid impartiality." Surely he cannot find two interpretations to the phrase "rigid impartiality."

Speaking of industrial disputes, the platform declares that "injunctions shall not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved." How can that language be misconstrued or misinterpreted? If words mean anything, that plank means that an industrial dispute shall not, in itself, be regarded as a sufficient cause for an injunction. If an injunction issues in an industrial dispute, it must be based upon acts which would justify an injunction if there were no industrial dispute involved. There is nothing ambiguous about it; there is nothing that can be misconstrued or misinterpreted, even by one desiring to find a double meaning.

Why do the Republican leaders attempt to read ambiguity into those words? Simply because they cannot meet the proposition presented. Even Mr. Taft attempts to avoid the issue by saying that "no one has ever maintained that the fact that a dispute was industrial gave any basis for the issuing of an injunction in reference thereto." If it is true that no one now maintains that, then why find fault with our platform on that subject? If nobody opposes our position, we ought to have no difficulty in securing the passage of a law in harmony with this plank.

Upon the jury question Mr. Taft clearly takes issue with us. He is thoroughly aroused by what he regards as a menace to the courts. Here is his lament:

> "Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

This would come under the head of "Important, if true." But the fact is, our platform specifically declares that we favor a measure "which passed the United States Senate in 1896, and which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact," etc., providing for trial by jury in cases of *indirect* contempt. Are not the proceedings of the United States Senate a part of the history of the country? This measure passed the United States Senate more than twelve years ago, and the vote upon it was so nearly unanimous that no roll call was demanded. The bill was not smuggled through without discussion. It was amended in

open Senate and the members of the Senate had ample opportunity to understand it. It would have passed Congress and become a law long ago but for the fact that a few large corporate employers of labor have kept a lobby in Washington ever since, and have been able to coerce Congress into ignoring the laboring man's plea.

Mr. Taft is not an unbiased judge where the jury system is under consideration. He is not only known as the father of government by injunction, but he is prejudiced against the jury system. Every man is unconsciously influenced by his environment, and Mr. Taft's long service upon the bench has led him to underrate the importance of the jury system. In his address to the students of Yale, entitled, "A Judge on the Bench," he shows a decided leaning toward an increase of the authority of the judge, and praises the procedure in the federal court at the expense of the western courts, even tho he admits that "the jury system popularizes the court and gives the people to understand that they have not only an interest but also a part in the administration of justice." He has fallen into the error of assuming that any improvement in the method of court procedure is an attack upon the authority of the court. This is an ancient method of opposing reforms. Lord Macaulay had to encounter a similar objection when he favored the reform of the rotten borough system of England. Those who were opposed to the reform construed it as an attack upon the throne and as a menace to the stability of the government, but the reform was secured and the gov-

ernment of England was improved rather than impaired. So the reform attempted by the Senate twelve years ago, and endorsed by three Democratic national conventions, is in the interest of justice and has for its object the strengthening of the court in public estimation.

It is not a reflection upon the judge of a criminal court to say that he shall not decide upon the guilt of the accused. Our criminal courts are the better, not the worse, for the substitution of trial by jury. No common law judge feels that it is a reflection upon him when a party to a suit asks for a trial before a jury. It is the special function of a jury to decide upon the credibility of witnesses, and the manner of a witness upon the stand is often as important as his words in determining the weight to be attached to his testimony. A judge is apt to be hampered by precedent. He wants this decision to harmonize with former decisions rendered by him, altho the facts are never the same in two cases. The jury is better able to decide each case upon its merits.

It must be remembered, too, that in cases of indirect contempt, the charge is a criminal one and that the punishment is by fine or imprisonment. All the reasons that apply to criminal cases apply to these cases of indirect contempt, and the abuses to be removed by the proposed law are those that have grown up because of the increased tendency of the great corporations to use the writ of injunction to avoid the jury trial.

The Democratic platform proposes no interference with the right of the judge to decide the cases

of direct contempt—contempt committed in the presence of the court; neither is it proposed to interfere with the right of the judge to determine the punishment for indirect contempt. All that is sought is the substitution of trial by jury for trial by judge when the violation of the court's decree must be established by evidence.

Not only is the prosecution for contempt a criminal prosecution, but there is even more reason for a jury than in the ordinary criminal case. In the criminal court the judge acts in a judicial capacity only. He is not responsible for the law which is being enforced in his court, and therefore he has no personal grievance against the defendant, and, not being the prosecutor in the case, he does not feel a personal interest in the result of the trial; but in a contempt proceeding the judge is the lawmaker and the public prosecutor as well as the judge. It is the judge's order which the accused is charged with violating, and it is the judge who appears to prosecute the case, upon which he is to render a decision. In our Federal and State constitutions we have carefully separated the three departments of government, and each department is jealous of any encroachment upon its sphere of activity. The judge resents any attempt of the legislator or of the executive to usury the functions of the court; the executive resents any attempt of the court or of the lawmaker to enter his domain, and the lawmaker is equally insistent upon the preservation of his independence. If there is any time or place where a jury is needed, it is in a case of indirect contempt. It is not strange that

abuses have crept in, for a man would have to be more than human to unite in himself the deliberation of the legislator, the zeal of the public prosecutor and the impartiality of the judge.

While the laboring men have been the first to complain of this denial of the right of trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, it ought not to be considered a labor question. The jury system is so essential to the administration of justice that the subject ought to appeal to all who make a study of the science of government. If citizens would only be on their guard against the beginnings of evils, it would be very easy to apply necessary remedies, but in the struggle for existence the voters are often indifferent to the application of an erroneous principle until repeated applications establish a custom, and in time a custom crystallizes into law. It behooves us, as lovers of our country and as the friends of liberty, to insist upon the independence of the different departments of our Government and upon the maintenance of the rights which have been shown by experience to be essential to freedom and self-government. The jury system must be preserved, and we cannot hope to preserve it if, for any reason or under any pretext, we permit any citizen to be denied the protection which it furnishes.

According to the Declaration of Independence, governments are instituted among men to secure to them the enjoyment of their inalienable rights. Among these inalienable rights, three are specifically enumerated—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The second and third, however, are

really parts of the first, for life means nothing to the individual if it is confined to mere animal existence. Man is distinguished from the brute in that the latter merely eats and sleeps and dies, while man is endowed by the Creator with infinite possibilities. Liberty is necessary for the realization of man's possibilities. His conscience must be left free that he may fix for himself the relation between himself and his God. His mind must be left free that he may devise and plan for himself, for his family and for his fellows. His speech must be free that he may give to the world the results of his investigations and present to others the ideal which he is trying to realize in his work. His pen must be free that he may scatter seed thoughts to the uttermost parts of the earth and leave to posterity a record of his work. He finds in government the cheapest, as well as the surest, protection of this liberty, to be, to think, to speak, to act.

And what constitutes the pursuit of happiness? Man must have home and friends—family and society. He must have food or he will starve. He must have clothing and shelter; he must have books, he must have instruments with which to work. He must provide during the period of strength for the years when age dulls his energies and benumbs his hands. He may have ambition, he may have willingness to work and an environment that spurs him on; but the government may encourage or it may discourage his efforts. Government may bid him hope or leave him to despair.

When I visited the valley of Jordan I learned that it is fertile and productive, and yet, instead of being cultivated like the valley of the Nile, vast stretches of territory lie untilled. Why? I was told that under the reign of the Sultan the toiler is not protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his toil. If the farmer plants and tends his crop, the roving Bedouins will sweep down from the hills at harvest time and carry away the fruits of his industry.

If the government does not assure to the individual the enjoyment of the result of his effort, there is no stimulus to industry.

We have the best government on earth. It gives the largest liberty, the greatest hope and the most encouragement to its citizens, and yet, even in this country, it is always necessary to be on the watch to keep the instrumentalities of government from being turned to private gain.

One of the great problems of to-day is to secure an equitable distribution of the proceeds of toil. The material wealth of this country is largely a joint product; in factories few people work alone, and on the farm a certain amount of co-operation is necessary. Where men work together, the army organization applies to some degree; that is, some direct, others are directed. The difficulty has been to divide the results fairly between the captains of industry and the privates in the ranks. As the dividing is done largely by the captains, it is not unnatural that they should magnify their part and keep too large a share for themselves; neither is it unnatural that there should be complaint on

the part of the toilers who think that their recompense is insufficient.

The labor question, therefore, as it presents itself at this time, is chiefly a question of distribution, and the legislation asked for is legislation which will secure to each that to which his services entitle him. As legislation is secured through the ballot everyone should use the ballot to obtain the legislation necessary. The Democratic platform presents the ideal toward which the Democratic party is striving, namely, justice in the distribution of rewards. The Democratic party proclaims that each individual should receive from society a reward for his toil commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society, and unless some other party can do the work better, the Democratic party ought to have the support of all, whether they belong to the wage-earning class or occupy positions in which they direct the efforts of others. If an officer in the industrial army were sure that his children and his children's children would inherit his position, he might feel possibly indifferent as to those under his command, but the children of those who, to-day, work for wages may employ the children of those who, in this generation, are employers. This uncertainty as to future generations, as well as our sense of justice, should lead us to make the Government as nearly perfect as possible, for a good government is the best legacy that a parent can leave to his child. Riches may take the wings of the morning and fly away, but government is permanent, and we cannot serve posterity better than by contributing to the per-

fection of the Government, that each child born into the world may feel that it has here an opportunity for the most complete development, and a chance to secure, through service, the largest possible happiness and honor.

XII

THE STATE AND THE NATION

Delivered in Peoria, Ill., on September 9, 1908.

THE success of our system of government rests upon the careful observance of the constitutional division of power between the State and the Nation. A number of expressions have been coined to describe the relations existing between the Federal Government and the several subdivisions, but no one has been more felicitous in definitions than Jefferson or more accurate in drawing lines of demarcation. He presented the historic position of the Democratic party when he declared himself in favor of "the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies," and "the preservation of the general Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our safety at home and peace abroad." The Democratic platform, adopted at Denver, quotes the language of Jefferson and declares that it expresses the party's position at this time.

It would be almost as difficult to maintain a free, self-governing republic over a large area and with a large population without State governments as it would be to maintain such a republic without a

general government. The interests of the different parts of the country are so varied, and the matters requiring legislative attention so numerous, that it would be impossible to have all of the work done at the national capital. One has only to examine the bills introduced in each Congress, and then add to the number the bills introduced at the legislative sessions of each of the forty-six States, to realize that it would be beyond the power of any body of men to legislate intelligently on the multitude of questions that require consideration.

Not only would national legislators lack the time necessary for investigation, and therefore lack the information necessary to wise decision, but the indifference of representatives in one part of the country to local matters in other parts of the country would invite the abuse of power. Then, too, the seat of government would be so far from the great majority of the voters as to prevent that scrutiny of public conduct which is essential to clean and honest government. The union of the separate States under a Federal Government offers the only plan that can adapt itself to indefinite extension.

Our constitution expressly reserves to the States and to the people respectively all powers not delegated to the Federal Government, and only by respecting this division of powers can we hope to keep the Government within the reach of the people and responsive to the will of the people. Because in all disputes as to the relative spheres of the Nation and the States the final decision rests with the federal courts, the tendency is naturally toward centralization, and greater care is required

to preserve the reserved rights of the States than to maintain the authority of the general Government.

In recent years another force has been exerting an increasing influence in extending the authority of the central Government. I refer to the great corporations. They prefer the federal courts to the State courts, and employ every possible device to drag litigants before United States judges. They also prefer Congressional regulation to State regulation, and those interested in large corporations have for years been seeking federal incorporation. The Democratic party will resist every attempt to obliterate State lines, whether the attempt is made through legislation or through judicial interpretation. Amendment of the organic law by judicial interpretation would be destructive of constitutional government; our constitution can be amended by the people in accordance with the terms of the document itself, and no group of men, however honorable or high minded, can usurp this power without violating the fundamental principles of our Government.

It has been suggested that the rights of the States can lapse through non-use, and that Congress is justified in usurping the authority of the State if the State fails to make proper use of it. While this doctrine has been advanced in the pretended interest of the people, it is as insidious and as dangerous an assault as has ever been made on our constitutional form of government. The people of the State can act with more promptness than the people of the nation, and if they fail to act, it must

be assumed that the people of the State prefer inaction.

The real purpose that those have in view who complain of the inaction of the State, is not more strict regulation of corporations, but the relief of corporations from State regulation.

The Democratic party favors the full exercise of the powers of the Government for the protection of the rights of the people—each government to act within its constitutional sphere. Our platform demands that federal legislation be *added to, not substituted for,* State legislation.

The predatory corporations have taken advantage of the dual character of our Government and have tried to hide behind State rights when prosecuted in the federal courts, and behind the interstate commerce clause of the constitution when prosecuted in the State courts.

There is no twilight zone between the Nation and the State in which the exploiting interests can take refuge from both. There is no neutral ground where, beyond the jurisdiction of either sovereignty, the plunderers of the public can find a safe retreat. As long as a corporation confines its activities to the State in which it was created, it is subject to State regulation only; but as soon as it invades interstate commerce it becomes amenable to federal laws as well as to the laws of the State which created it and the laws of the States in which it does business.

How strict can these laws be? Just as strict as may be necessary for the protection of the public.

Our platform outlines the regulation deemed

necessary, and the regulation is specifically set forth in order that our opponents may not be able to scare the public by predicting hurtful legislation. Our platform, unlike the Republican platform, says what it means and means only what it says.

A distinction is drawn between the railroads and other corporations. The railroad, being a quasi-public corporation and, as such, being permitted to exercise a part of the sovereignty of the State, is subject to regulation at the hands of both the nation and the State, but this regulation is intended, not to cripple the railroads, but to increase their efficiency. The people at large are as much interested as the stockholders are in the successful operation of the railroads. Their own pecuniary interests as well as their sense of justice would restrain them from doing anything that would impair the road or reduce its efficiency. The traveling public is vitally interested in the payment of wages sufficient to command the most intelligent service, for life as well as property is in the hands of those who operate the trains, guard the switches, and keep the track in repair.

The Democratic party would distinguish between those railroad owners, directors and managers who, recognizing their obligation to the public, earn their salaries by conscientious devotion to the work entrusted to them, and those unscrupulous "Napoleons of Finance" who use railroads as mere pawns in a great gambling game without regard to the rights of stockholders, the welfare of employees or the interests of the patrons. It is in the interest of honest railroading and legitimate invest-

ment that the Democratic party seeks to ascertain the present value of the railroad properties and to prevent for the future the watering of stock and the issue of fictitious capitalization; and it is in the interest of both the railroads and the public that it seeks only such reductions in transportation rates as can be made without wage reduction, without deterioration in the service and without injustice to legitimate investments. The Democratic party insists that in the matter of regulation of railroads both the State governments and the Federal Government shall act up to, and yet within, their powers; for nothing else will restore the confidence and good-will that ought to exist between the railroads and the people. In dealing with manufacturing and trading corporations the Democratic party draws a distinction between those corporations—and they constitute the great majority of all the manufacturing and trading corporations —which are engaged in a legitimate effort to supply what the consumers need, and the very few corporations which are seeking by conscienceless methods to take advantage of the public on the one hand, while on the other hand they bankrupt competitors, oppress the producers of raw materials and deal arbitrarily with their employees. It endeavors to protect the innocent corporations by visiting punishment upon those corporations which are guilty of infractions of the moral as well as the statute law. Here, too, our platform is specific and no one can use its language to frighten any business man whose transactions are fair and whose income is honestly earned.

No one can contrast the plain, straightforward declarations of our party with the vague and ambiguous utterances of the Republican leaders and the Republican candidate without recognizing that our appeal is to the judgment and good sense of the voters who desire justice for themselves and insist upon justice being done by others. Our party, if entrusted with the power, will remedy the abuses which have grown up under Republican rule, and yet remedy those abuses with due regard to constitutional limitations and without injury to any legitimate business interest.

SPEECHES
IN FOREIGN LANDS

I

PATRIOTISM

Delivered in Havana, Cuba, May 16, 1902, at a banquet at the time of the inauguration of the first president of the Republic of Cuba.

I ESTEEM it a great privilege and a high honor to be invited to participate in this memorable occasion. I am not here to represent the Government of the United States. The distinguished soldier and citizen who has represented the American Government upon the island with so much ability and success is present to represent my country in an official capacity; but as an American citizen I can congratulate you upon the realization of your hopes, and as an American citizen I can give expression to the pride that I feel at the fact that our soldiers and official representatives have conducted themselves so well that the Cuban veterans tender them this complimentary dinner and express so much of gratitude and of good-will.

When asked to respond to the toast, I could think of no better sentiment than "Patriotism."

Of what other sentiment could I think at a banquet given by the veterans of the Cuban army and in the presence of the great soldier (General Gomez) who sits at the head of the table to-night, and in the presence of Cuba's favorite son, Señor Estrada Palma, who is to enjoy the honor of being the first chief executive of this republic.

The word "patriotism" has been translated into every language and its spirit has been exhibited to a greater or less extent in every land, but nowhere has more patriotism been shown than in this beautiful isle of the sea, where liberty and independence have been purchased by so much blood and sacrifice. You may well be pardoned for feeling an exultation too deep for expression, and in that exultation my countrymen fully share; and yet I would be less than a friend if I failed to suggest that there are victories before you even greater than the victories already won. The work of self-government is a continuous work and one that taxes both the patience and the energy of the citizen. Under an arbitrary government where the monarch thinks and acts for the subject, the subject may be indifferent and indolent, but in a republic where the government rests upon the consent of the governed there is no place for slothfulness.

Patriotism is a virtue which must be displayed in peace as well as in war, and may be defined as that love of country which leads the citizen to give to his country that which his country needs at the time his country needs it. In time of war the citizen may be called upon to die for his country; in time of peace he must live for his country. In time of war he may be called upon to give his body as a sacrifice; in time of peace his country demands his head and his heart, his intellect and his conscience. You have shown that you were willing to lay down your lives in order to purchase liberty, now you will be called upon to exhibit self-restraint and

moral courage in dealing with the problems of government.

It is written that he who ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city. It is too much to expect that all things will be done as any one would like to have them done or that every one will receive the reward of which he and his friends may think him deserving; and in hours of disappointment it is well to remember that a person can show more patriotism by suffering for a great cause than by enjoying great rewards.

In time of war your island was divided and there was much bitterness between those who fought for independence and those who supported the authority of Spain. Now that you are about to enter upon the enjoyment of the blessings of self-government, it should be your purpose to heal all the wounds and to unite the people in a common destiny. If there be those who would prefer the sovereignty of Spain to an experiment in self-government, do not abuse them, but convert them to the doctrines of free government by showing them the superiority of a republic. It may even be an advantage to those in power to have some citizens who are skeptical and ready to criticize, for it will make public officials more careful of their conduct.

Jefferson declares that free government exists in jealousy rather than in confidence, and it is certainly true that public servants are most faithful when their acts are under constant scrutiny.

One of the questions with which you will have to deal is that of public education, and you will

find it of advantage to lay for your republic a broad and deep foundation by providing for universal education. The citizen will appreciate the advantages of free government in proportion as his mental horizon is enlarged and his capacity for usefulness increased.

No one is wise enough to act as a censor in matters of education and select those who are to be sent to school. No one can say upon which child of to-day the responsibilities of the next generation will fall, hence the nation will find its security in fitting the largest possible number for full participation in all that concerns the nation's welfare.

You rejoice to-night that our nation is going to keep its promise and give the world an example of fidelity to a public trust, and yet it is a cause of congratulation to us as much as to you, for we had more to lose than you if we failed to keep the pledge made at the beginning of the Spanish war. I believe that the citizens of our country are as happy as you over the successful outcome of your heroic struggle; they will rejoice in all the good fortune that comes to you and they will grieve over any mistake that you may make. They appreciate the gratitude which you express, but they find their reward in the good they have been able to accomplish, for life's happiness is not measured by the gifts which one receives, but by the contribution which he makes to the welfare of his fellows.

Let me borrow a story which has been used to illustrate the position of the United States: A man wended his way through the streets of a great city. Unmindful of the merchandise exposed on every

hand he sought out a store where birds were kept for sale. Purchasing bird after bird he opened the cages and allowed the feathered songsters to fly away. When asked why he thus squandered his money, he replied: "I was once a captive myself, and I find pleasure in setting even a bird at liberty."

The United States once went through the struggle from which you have just emerged; the American people once by the aid of a friendly power won a victory similar to that which you are now celebrating, and our people find gratification in helping to open the door that barred your way to the exercise of your political rights.

I have come to witness the lowering of our flag and the raising of the flag of the Cuban Republic; but the event will bring no humiliation to the people of my country, for it is better that the stars and stripes should be indelibly imprest upon your hearts than that they should float above your heads.

II

IN LONDON ON THANKSGIVING DAY

Delivered in London at the annual banquet of the American Society on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 26, 1903.

IT IS I who have reason to be grateful to the American Society for the opportunity of meeting so many of my own countrymen and English men and women who are so like my countrymen that I cannot, looking down the tables, tell which is which. I am not surprized to find that the ladies of England are so handsome as to be taken for Americans, for I have found the ladies everywhere handsome enough for the men, but I have been a little surprized to find that I could not tell an Englishman from an American on the street here. And as I have a high opinion of the American, I cannot have a low opinion of the Englishman.

It is proper that I should express my gratitude to-night for several things. I am grateful to our distinguished ambassador for the courtesies he has shown me, and I have the advantage of him in one respect, I had seen and heard him before. Once when I was in Washington, a young man then, I went into the supreme court of the United States, and heard a lawyer arguing a case. I was so imprest with the appearance of the man and with

the manner of his speech that I inquired who this lawyer might be, and was told that it was Mr. Choate, of New York. From that time to this I have looked back to that occasion, and I have never found in my country a lawyer who measured higher than he did. I am grateful to him for his kind words, altho in doing me what he intended for a kindness he has somewhat embarrassed me, and if I were to give full credit to what he has said I am afraid I might soon be like the young lady whose sweetheart praised her until she became so vain that she would not speak to him.

This society, I am informed, celebrates two occasions, the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving Day. On the Fourth of July we celebrate our independence; on Thanksgiving Day we acknowledge our dependence. And it is proper that Mr. Choate should be a conspicuous figure on both occasions, because on the Fourth of July we boast of what we have done, and on Thanksgiving Day we feel grateful for what we have received, and we are both proud of, and grateful for, Ambassador Choate. On the Fourth of July the eagle seems a little larger than it does on any other day, and its scream may grate more harshly on the foreign ear than it does at any other time. But on this day we cultivate reverence and express our appreciation of those blessings that have come to our country without the thought or aid of Americans. We have reason to look with some degree of pride upon the achievement of the United States; we contemplate the present with satisfaction, and look to the future

with hope; and yet on this occasion we may well remember that we are but building upon the foundations that have been laid for us. We did not create the fertile soil that is the basis of our agricultural greatness; the streams that drain and feed our valleys were not channelled by human hands. We did not fashion the climate that gives us the white cotton belt of the south, the yellow wheat belt of the north, and the central corn belt that joins the two and overlaps them both. We do not gather up the moisture and fix the date of the early and later rains; we did not hide away in the mountains the gold and the silver; we did not store in the earth the deposits of copper and of zinc; we did not create the measures of coal and the beds of iron. All these natural resources, which we have but commenced to develop, are the gift of Him before whom we bow in gratitude tonight.

Nor are we indebted to the Heavenly Father alone, for we have received much from those who are separated from us by the Atlantic. If we have great and flourishing industries we must not forget that every nation in Europe has sent us its trained and skilled artizans. If we have made intellectual progress, we must remember that those who crossed the ocean as pioneers brought with them their intelligence and their desire for learning. Even our religion is not of American origin. Like you, we laid the foundations of our church in the Holy Land, and those who came in the Mayflower and in other ships brought a love of religious liberty. Free speech, which has been developed in our

country, and which we prize so much, is not of American origin. Since I have been here I have been profoundly impressed with the part that Englishmen have taken in establishing the right of free speech. And I may say that before I came to this country the thing that most challenged my admiration in the Englishman was his determination to make his opinion known when he had an opinion that he thought should be given to the world. Passing through the Bank of England, to which my friend, the ambassador, has referred, my attention was called to a protest that Admiral Cochrane wrote upon the bank note with which he paid the thousand pounds fine that had been assessed against him. I was interested in that protest because it showed a fearlessness that indicates the possibilities of the race. Let me read what he said: "My health having suffered by long and close confinement, and my oppressors having resolved to deprive me of property or life, I submit to robbery to protect myself from murder in the hope that I shall live to bring the delinquents to justice."

That is the spirit that moves the world! There was a man in prison. He must pay his fine in order to gain his liberty. He believed the action of the court unjust. He knew that if he stayed there he would lose his life and lose the chance for vindication, and yet, as he was going forth from the prison doors, he did not go with bowed head or cringing, but flung his protest in the face of his oppressors, and told them he submitted to robbery to protect his life in the hope that, having escaped from their

hands, he might bring them to justice. I like that in the Englishman, and during my short knowledge of public affairs I have looked across the ocean and admired the moral courage and the manliness of those Englishmen who have dared to stand out against overwhelming odds and assert their opinions before the world.

We sometimes feel that we have a sort of proprietary interest in the principles of government set forth in the Declaration of Independence. That is a document which we have given to the world, and yet the principles set forth therein were not invented by an American. Thomas Jefferson exprest them in felicitous language and put them into permanent form, but the principles had been known before. The doctrine that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with inalienable rights, that governments were instituted amongst men to secure these rights, and that they derived their just power from the consent of the governed—this doctrine which stands four square with all the world was not conceived in the United States, it did not spring from the American mind —ay, it did not come so much from any mind as it was an emanation from the heart, and it had been in the hearts of men for ages. Before Columbus turned the prow of his ship toward the west on that eventful voyage, before the Barons wrested Magna Charta from King John—yes, before the Roman legions landed on the shores of this island —ay, before Homer sang—that sentiment had nestled in the heart of man, and nerved him to resist the oppressor. That sentiment was not even

of human origin. Our own great Lincoln declared that it was God Himself who implanted in every human heart the love of liberty.

Yes, when God created man, He gave him life. He linked to life the love of liberty, and what God hath joined together let no man put asunder. We have received great blessings from God and from all the world, and what is our duty? We cannot make return to those from whom those gifts were received. It is not in our power to make return to the Father above. Nor can we make return to those who have sacrificed so much for our advancement. The child can never make full return to the mother whose life trembled in the balance at its birth, and whose kindness and care guarded it in all the years of infancy. The student cannot make full return to the teacher who awakened the mind, and aroused an ambition for a broader intellectual life. The adult cannot make full return to the patriarch whose noble life gave inspiration and incentive. So a generation cannot make return to the generation gone; it must make its return to the generations to come. Our nation must discharge its debt not to the dead, but to the living. How can our country discharge this great debt? In but one way, and that is by giving to the world something equal in value to that which it has received from the world. And what is the greatest gift that man can bestow upon man? Feed a man and he will hunger again; give him clothing and his clothing will wear out; but give him a noble ideal, and that ideal will be with him through every waking hour, lifting him to a higher

plane of life, and giving him a broader conception of his relations to his fellows.

I know, therefore, of no greater service that my country can render to the world than to furnish to the world the highest ideal that the world has known. That ideal must be so far above us that it will keep us looking upward all our lives, and so far in advance of us that we shall never overtake it. I know of no better illustration of an ideal life than the living spring, pouring forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates—no better illustration of a worthless life than the stagnant pool which receives contribution from all the land around and around and gives forth nothing. Our nation must make a large contribution to the welfare of the world, and it is no reflection upon those who have gone before to say that we ought to do better than they have done. We would not meet the responsibilities of to-day if we did not build still higher the social structure to which they devoted their lives.

I visited the Tower of London to-day and saw upon the wall a strange figure. It was made of swords, ramrods, and bayonets, and was fashioned into the form of a flower. Someone had put a card on it and aptly named it the passion flower—and it has been too often the international flower. But the world has made progress. No longer do ambition and avarice furnish a sufficient excuse for war. The world has made progress, and to-day you cannot justify bloodshed except in defense of a right already ascertained, and then only when all peaceable means have been exhausted. The world

has made progress. We have reached a point where we respect not the man who will die to secure some pecuniary advantages, but the man who will die in defense of his rights. We admire the courage of the man who is willing to die in defense of his rights, but there is yet before us a higher ground. Is he great who will die in defense of his rights? There is yet to come the greater man—the man who will die rather than trespass upon the rights of another. Hail to the nation whatever its name may be that leads the world towards the realization of this higher ideal. I am glad that we now recognize that there is something more powerful than physical force, and no one has stated it better than Carlyle. He said that thought was stronger than artillery parks, and at last molded the world like soft clay; that behind thought was love, and that there never was a wise head that had not behind it a generous heart.

The world is coming to understand that armies and navies, however numerous and strong, are impotent to stop thought. Thought inspired by love will yet rule the world. I am glad that there is a national product more valuable than gold or silver, more valuable than cotton or wheat or corn or iron —an ideal. That is a merchandise—if I may call it such— that moves freely from country to country. You cannot vex it with an export tax or hinder it with an import tariff. It is greater than legislators, and rises triumphant over the machinery of government. In the rivalry to present the best ideal to the world, love, not hatred, will control; and I am glad that on this Thanksgiving Day I can

meet my countrymen and their friends here assembled, return thanks for what my country has received, thanks for the progress that the world has made, and contemplate with joy the coming of that day when the rivalry between nations will be, not to see which can injure the other most, but to show which can hold highest the light that guides the footsteps of the human race to higher ground. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

III

RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE

Delivered in Tokyo, Japan, in October, 1905, at a dinner given by Ambassador Griscom, at which Count Ito, the leader of the Conservative party, and Count Okuma, leader of the Radical party, were present.

I HAVE been admonished that I would be expected to say something in acknowledging this very generous toast, but I hardly know what to say. I was a cautious man before I came to Japan, but I have learned here an additional caution. I bought the three Nikko monkeys, carved in wood, and I understand that they represent a very important philosophy; i. e., that the wise man sees nothing that he ought not to see; hears nothing that he ought not to hear; and says nothing that he ought not to say. I have not worried about the first two, for I have not expected to hear anything that I ought not to hear, or to see anything that I ought not to see, but I have kept my eye on the third monkey, and have tried to be circumspect in all my ways and cautious in all my utterances, but I cannot forbear to submit a word in reply to the very kind things which have been said.

I appreciate the opportunity that our minister has given us to meet the distinguished people who are assembled around this board. I appreciate also the dignity and ability with which he represents my country. When I go abroad and meet Republicans in the foreign service I am satisfied

that, whatever may be the character of the Republicans left at home, good men have been sent abroad, and I feel like suggesting that when we have any more contests they make a fair exchange and send away the ones who have been left at home and bring back those who are away. As I meet these learned, courteous and kindly Republicans, and as I receive such hospitable treatment at their hands, I feel all the old animosity disappearing and I am, to-night, much in the attitude of a young man, of whom I heard, who courted his girl for a year before he had the courage to propose to her. He finally summoned up sufficient courage to tell her that he loved her, and asked her to marry him. Being a very frank girl, she replied, "I have loved you, Jim, for many months and have only been waiting for you to tell me so that I could tell you." Of course, Jim was delighted—so delighted that he went to the door and, looking up at the stars, exclaimed, "O Lord, I hain't got anything against anybody." I feel that way to-night, and this is not only true in a political sense, not only true of my feeling towards Republicans, but I think that as I come into contact with the people of other nations and races, I come to feel a closer attachment to them than I could have felt had I not met them. I am more and more imprest with the broadening influence of traveling. As we visit different countries we learn that people everywhere, no matter through what language they speak, or under what form of government they live, are much the same. We find that the things that we hold in common are more important and

more numerous than the smaller things which separate us.

I consider it a great privilege to meet the distinguished citizens of Japan. I would be confessing my own ignorance of the world's politics if I did not know by name and by history the illustrious men of this great island, and to-night I have the pleasure of sitting at the board with two of the men of whom I have often heard. One, Marquis Ito, sits at my right. He will go down in history as the builder of a great constitution; his fame will increase with the ages until he shall be known throughout the world as our own great Jefferson is known because of his connection with the Declaration of Independence.

I am glad also that there is in this gathering another man, Count Okuma, distinguished in politics and in education, and who yesterday so kindly entertained me in his home and gave me the opportunity of looking into the faces of the students assembled in the school of which he is the patron saint.

I am glad that at this board we have these two men, the marquis and the count, who represent so fully the aspirations and the breadth of thought in this country. I speak of these men, not that I forget the other distinguished persons present, but because these two represent the parties of which they are the acknowledged leaders. I believe that it is necessary that there shall be conflicting parties in every great and growing nation. Show me a nation where there is no dispute, where there is no discussion, where there is no conflict of thought, and

I will show you a nation that has more death than life. The moving waters are the pure waters; the stagnant waters soon become poisonous. It is a good sign to find men contending for the principles in which they believe, and it increases my confidence in a nation when I find men of spirit who think and have the courage to speak their thoughts.

We have found many things of interest in this country, but Mrs. Bryan and I have been especially interested in what they call the Korean lions. I do not know whether the other Americans have been imprest by these, but we are firmly determined to take two Korean lions home with us (if we can secure a pair) and put them as a guard in front of our house. Now, the Korean lions are interesting for several reasons, and one of the most important is that they represent the affirmative and the negative. I noticed to-day that one of them had his mouth open as tho he were saying "yes," and the other had his mouth tightly closed as if he had just said "no." Both the affirmative and the negative are necessary. You find everywhere the radical and the conservative. Both are essential in a progressive state. The conservative is necessary to keep the radical from going too far, and the radical is necessary to make the conservative go at all. One is as necessary to the welfare of the nation as the other. There must be a party in power, and there must be a party out of power, altho I think that, for convenience sake, they ought to change places occasionally. When a party goes into power it is apt to be more

conservative than when out of power, and when a party goes out of power it is likely to become more radical. I might give a number of reasons for it. In the first place, responsibility tends to make a party more deliberate—it sobers it. Then, too, a party that is defeated often learns from the victor how to win, and sometimes the successful party learns from the defeated one.

Time modifies parties and the Korean lions illustrate this also. They have come down from Babylonian times and each nation seems to have added something. So with both the conservative and the radical parties. These parties will change from time to time as they pass through various nations, and as they pass through various generations, for what is an affirmative party to-day may be a negative party to-morrow. Having accomplished one reform, it may hesitate to undertake another, and finally give way to a more courageous party.

A great American philosopher, Emerson, has said that the dreams of one generation become the accepted facts of the next. All the parties feel the influence of this contact with public opinion. I repeat that I am glad that I am permitted by the kindness of Minister Griscom to meet about this board the two leaders to whom I have referred. Each is a help to the other. Neither would be as strong without the other to stimulate him. We help each other in this way.

I have also learned to hold in high esteem His Majesty the Emperor, and I might give you two reasons for it. First, I have been drawn to him in a most tender way, by finding that when he selected

a chrysanthemum to represent royalty he gave it sixteen petals, thus recognizing the familiar ratio of sixteen to one. Second, and most important, because he has had the wisdom to give to his people constitutional government and other blessings which in too many countries have been secured only by the employment of force.

I am glad that I have thus had an opportunity to meet and become acquainted with the people of this island, and I appreciate most heartily the hospitality they have shown us. I am not vain enough to assume that it is in any large degree a personal tribute. I recognize and accept it rather as an indication of the general good-will they entertain towards the country of which I am but an humble citizen. The sincerity of this expression of good-will has imprest me. It has beamed forth from the eyes of students and been felt in the hand-clasp. I have beheld it everywhere, and I shall be glad to tell my people when I return home that the people of Japan reciprocate the friendly feeling that is entertained towards Japan by the people in our country. I am going to insist that more Americans come to Japan and I hope that more Japanese will visit our country. This exchange will teach us both to know each other better and I am satisfied that we will find, as we always find, that acquaintance removes to a large degree the differences between men and nations. I will promise those who hear me to-night, that whenever there is a question between America and Japan I shall be a better friend of Japan's than I have been in the past, if that is possible, because I think I understand the

country better than I ever could have understood it without meeting the people of Japan. I can be more proud of your history and share more fully in your anticipations of a still more glorious future.

IV

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

Delivered at the annual banquet of the American Society in London on July 4, 1906.

REMEMBERING, as I do with great pleasure, the evening which I spent with this society on Thanksgiving Day two years and a half ago, I was glad indeed that I was able to accept the invitation extended on the part of this society by our distinguished ambassador, the Hon. Whitelaw Reid. It gives me great satisfaction to be able to look into the faces of so many of my countrymen and of those who speak our language. The only sad feature of the day is that it follows so closely upon the terrible accident that has kept some Americans from this banquet hall, and I am sure we will appreciate the very kindly expressions of sympathy which have been read this evening. Death is at no time a welcome guest, but it can never be so unwelcome as when it comes not only suddenly, as it did in this case, but when those taken are far from the friends who are near and dear to them.

I appreciate the kind words spoken by our ambassador, and I can almost wish that he had said enough of a political nature to justify me in making a political speech. It has been now nearly ten months since I had the chance to make one, and you can understand what self-restraint it requires

to pass by this opportunity. Not even his mention of gold will draw me into politics, altho I might say that if our country has done so well walking on one leg, what progress she would have made if she had but had two. The American ambassador has referred to the fact that in our country he has felt it necessary to oppose some things that I have said. I can testify that he has not only done so, but that he has done it well; and remembering how much better he acts abroad than at home, I can assure you that no American rejoices more than I that he is 3,000 miles away from his field of influence. In a trip of some months I have met a number of Republican office-holders. I have found them good men, and I sometimes wish that we had enough offices to take all the Republicans out of the United States. But I cannot be tempted to deviate from the course which I laid out for myself, and I am going to ask your indulgence while I present some thoughts that I feel may possibly be worthy of consideration here.

Our English friends, under whose flag we meet tonight, recalling that this is the anniversary of our nation's birth, would doubtless pardon us if our rejoicing contained something of self-congratulation, for it is at such a time as this that we are wont to review those national achievements which have given to the United States its prominence among the nations. But I hope I shall not be thought lacking in patriotic spirit if, instead of drawing a picture of the past, bright with heroic deeds and unparalleled in progress, I summon you rather to a serious consideration of the responsi-

bility resting upon those nations which aspire to premiership. This line of thought is suggested by a sense of propriety as well as by recent experiences—by a sense of propriety because such a subject will interest the Briton as well as the American, and by recent experiences because they have imprest me not less with our national duty than with the superiority of western over eastern civilization.

Asking your attention to such a theme, it is not unfitting to adopt a phrase coined by a poet to whom America as well as England can lay some claim, and take for my text "The White Man's Burden:"

> "Take up the White Man's burden—
> In patience to abide,
> To veil the threat of terror
> And check the show of pride.
> By open speech and simple,
> An hundred times made plain,
> To seek another's profit,
> And work another's gain."

Thus sings Kipling, and, with the exception of the third line (of the meaning of which I am not quite sure), the stanza embodies the thought which is uppermost in my mind to-night. No one can travel among the dark-skinned races of the Orient without feeling that the white man occupies an especially favored position among the children of men, and the recognition of this fact is accomplished by the conviction that there is a duty inseparably connected with the advantages enjoyed. There is a white man's burden—a burden which the white man should not shirk even if he could,

a burden which he could not shirk even if he would. That no one liveth unto himself or dieth unto himself has a national as well as an individual application; our destinies are so interwoven that each exerts an influence directly or indirectly upon all others.

Sometimes this influence is unconsciously exerted, as when, for instance, the good or bad precedent set by one nation in dealing with its own affairs is followed by some other nation. Sometimes the influence is incidentally exerted, as when, for example, a nation in the extension of its commerce, introduces its language among, and enlarges the horizon of, the people with whom it trades. This incidental benefit conferred by the opening of new markets must be apparent to anyone who has watched the stimulating influence of the new ideas which have been introduced into Asia and Africa through the medium of the English language. This is not only the mother tongue of very many of the world's leaders in religion, statesmanship, science and literature, but it has received, through translation, the best that has been written and spoken in other countries. He who learns this language, therefore, is like one who lives upon a great highway where he comes into daily contact with the world. Without disparaging other modern languages, it may be said with truth that whether one travels abroad or studies at home there is no other language so useful at the present time as that which we employ at this banquet board, and the nation which is instrumental in spreading this language confers an inestimable

boon, even tho the conferring of it be not included in its general purpose. England has rendered this service to the people of India, and the United States is rendering the same service to the people of the Philippines, while both England and the United States have been helpful to Japan and China in this way.

But the advanced nations cannot content themselves with the conferring of incidental benefits; if they would justify their leadership they must put forth conscious and constant effort for the promotion of the welfare of the nations which lag behind. Incidental benefits may follow, even tho the real purpose of a nation be a wholly selfish one, for as the sale of Joseph into Egypt resulted in blessings to his family and to the land of the Pharaohs, so captives taken in war have sometimes spread civilization, and blacks carried away into slavery have been improved by contact with the whites. But nations cannot afford to do evil in the hope that Providence will transmute the evil into good and bring blessings out of sin. Nations, if they would be great in the better sense of the term, must intend benefit as well as confer it; they must plan advantage, and not leave the results to chance.

I take it for granted that our duty to the so-called inferior races is not discharged by merely feeding them in times of famine, or by contributing to their temporary support when some other calamity overtakes them. A much greater assistance is rendered them when they are led to a more elevated plane of thought and activity by ideals which stimulate them to self-development. The improve-

ment of the people themselves should be the paramount object in all intercourse with the Orient.

Among the blessings which the Christian nations are at this time able—and because able, in duty bound—to carry to the rest of the world, I may mention five: education, knowledge of the science of government, arbitration as a substitute for war, appreciation of the dignity of labor, and a high conception of life.

Education comes first, and in nothing have the United States and England been more clearly helpful than in the advocacy of universal education. If the designs of God are disclosed by His handiwork, then the creation of the human mind is indubitable proof that the Almighty never intended that learning should be monopolized by a few, and he arrays himself against the plans of Jehovah who would deny intellectual training to any part of the human race. It is a false civilization, not a true one, that countenances the permanent separation of society into two distinct classes, the one encouraged to improve the mind and the other condemned to hopeless ignorance. Equally false is that conception of international politics which would make the prosperity of one nation depend upon the exploitation of another. While no one is farsighted enough to estimate with accuracy the remote, or even the immediate, consequences of human action, yet as we can rely upon the principle that as each individual profits rather than loses by the progress and prosperity of his neighbors, so we cannot doubt that it is to the advantage of each nation that every other nation shall make the lar-

gest possible use of its own resources and the capabilities of its people.

No one questions that Japan's influence has been a beneficent one since she has emerged from illiteracy and endowed her people with public schools open to all her boys and girls. The transition from a position of obscurity into a world power was scarcely more rapid than her change from a menace into an ally. China is entering upon a similar experience, and I am confident that her era of reform will make her, not a yellow peril, but a powerful co-laborer in the international vineyard. In India, in the Philippines, in Egypt, and even in Turkey, statistics show a gradual extension of education, and I trust I shall be pardoned if I say that neither the armies nor the navies, nor yet the commerce of our nations, have given us so just a claim to the gratitude of the people of Asia as have our school teachers, sent, many of them, by private rather than by public funds.

The English language has become the vehicle for the conveyance of governmental truth even more than for the spread of general information, for, beginning with Magna Charta, and continuing through the era of the American revolution and the Declaration of Independence, down to the present, no other language has been so much employed for the propagation of that theory of government which traces authority to the consent of the governed. Our own nation presents the most illustrious example known to history of a great population working out its destiny through laws of its own making, and under officials of its own choos-

ing, altho, I may add, we scarcely go beyond England in recognizing the omnipotence of a parliament fresh from the people. It is difficult to overestimate the potency of this conception of government upon the progress of a nation, and, in turning the thought of the world away from despotism to the possibilities of self-government, the pioneers of freedom made Western civilization possible. An idea will sometimes revolutionize an individual, a community, a state, a nation, or even a world, and the idea that man possesses inalienable rights which the state did not give, and which the state, tho it can deny, cannot take away, has made millions of human beings stand erect and claim their God-given inheritance. While the area of constitutional liberty is ever widening, while the tyranny and insolence of arbitrary power are every year decreasing, the leaders of the world's thought—not only the English-speaking nations, but the other Christian nations as well—have yet much to do in teaching reverence for the will of the majority and respect for the public servants upon whom the people bestow authority.

The Christian nations must lead the movement for the promotion of peace, not only because they are enlisted under the banner of the Prince of Peace, but also because they have attained such a degree of intelligence that they can no longer take a pride in a purely physical victory. The belief that moral questions can be settled by the shedding of human blood is a relic of barbarism; to doubt the dynamic power of righteousness is infidelity to truth itself. The nation which is unwilling to trust

its cause to the universal conscience, or which shrinks from the presentation of its claims before a tribunal where reason holds sway, betrays a lack of faith in the soundness of its position. Our country has reason to congratulate itself upon the success of President Roosevelt in hastening peace between Russia and Japan; through him our nation won a moral victory more glorious than a victory in war. His Majesty King Edward VII has also shown himself a promoter of arbitration, and a large number of the members of the English Parliament are enlisted in the same work. It means much that the two great English-speaking nations are thus arrayed on the side of peace. I venture to suggest that the world's peace would be greatly promoted by an agreement among the leading nations that no declaration of war should be made until after the submission of the question in controversy to an impartial court for investigation, each nation reserving the right to accept or reject the decision. The preliminary investigation would almost in every instance insure an amicable settlement, and the reserved rights would be sufficient protection against any possible injustice.

Let me go a step farther and appeal for a clearer recognition of the dignity of labor. The odium which rests upon the work of the hand has exerted a baneful influence the world around. The theory that idleness is more honorable than toil—that it is more respectable to consume what others have produced than to be a producer of wealth—has not only robbed society of an enormous sum,

but it has created an almost impassable gulf between the leisure classes and those who support them. Tolstoy is right in asserting that most of the perplexing problems of society grow out of the lack of sympathy between man and man. Because some imagine themselves above work, while others see before them nothing but a life of drudgery, there is constant warring and much of bitterness. When men and women become ashamed of doing nothing, and try to give to society full compensation for all they receive from society, there will be harmony between the classes.

While Europe and America have advanced far beyond the Orient in placing a proper estimate upon those who work, even our nations have not yet fully learned the lesson that employment at some useful avocation is essential to physical health, intellectual development, and moral growth. The agricultural colleges and industrial schools which have sprunk up in so many localities are evidence that a higher ideal is spreading among the people. If America and England are to meet the requirements of their high positions they must be prepared to present in the lives of their citizens examples, increasing in number, of men and women who find delight in contributing to the welfare of their fellows, and this ought not to be difficult, for every department of human activity has a fascination of its own.

And now we come to the most important need of the Orient—a conception of life which recognizes individual responsibility to God, teaches the brotherhood of man, and measures greatness by the

service rendered. The first establishes a rational relation between the creature and his Creator; the second lays the foundation for justice between man and his fellows, and the third furnishes an ambition large enough to fill each life with noble effort. No service which we can render to the less favored nations can compare in value to this service, for if we can bring their people to accept such an ideal they will rival the Occident in their contribution to civilization. If this ideal—which must be accepted as the true one if our religion is true—had been more perfectly illustrated in the lives of Christians and in the conduct of Christian nations, there would now be less of the "White Man's Burden."

If it is legitimate to "seek another's profit" and "to work another's gain," how can this service best be rendered? This has been the disputed point. Individuals and nations have differed less about the purpose to be accomplished than about the methods to be employed. Persecutions have been carried on avowedly for the benefit of the persecuted; wars have been waged for the alleged improvement of those attacked; and, still more frequently, philanthropy has been adulterated with selfish interest. If the superior nations have a mission, it is not to wound, but to heal—not to cast down, but to lift up, and the means must be example—a far more powerful and enduring means than violence. Example may be likened to the sun, whose genial rays constantly coax the buried seed into life, and clothe the earth, first with verdure, and afterward with ripened grain; while vio-

lence is the occasional tempest, which can ruin, but cannot give life.

Can we doubt the efficacy of example in the light of history? There has been a great increase in education during the last century, and the schoolhouses have not been opened by the bayonet; they owe their existence largely to the moral influence which neighboring nations exert upon each other. And the spread of popular government during the same period, how rapid! Constitution after constitution has been adopted, and limitation after limitation has been placed upon arbitrary power, until Russia, yielding to public opinion, establishes a legislative body, and China sends commissioners abroad with a view to inviting the people to share the responsibilities of government.

While in America and in Europe there is much to be corrected, and abundant room for improvement, there has never been so much altruism in the world as there is to-day—never so many who acknowledge the indissoluble tie that binds each to every other member of the race. The example of the Christian nations, tho but feebly reflecting the light of the Master, is gradually reforming the world.

Society has passed through a period of aggrandizement, nations taking what they had the strength to take, and holding what they had the power to hold. But we are already entering upon a second era—an era in which nations discuss not merely what they can do, but what they should do, considering justice of greater importance than physical prowess. In tribunals like that instituted at the

Hague, the chosen representatives of the nations weigh questions of right and wrong, give to the small nation an equal hearing with the great, and decree according to conscience. This marks an immeasurable advance, but there is another step yet to be taken. Justice, after all, is a cold, pulseless, negative virtue: the world needs something warmer and more generous. Harmlessness is better than harmfulness, but positive helpfulness is vastly superior to harmlessness, and we still have before us the larger and higher destiny of service.

There are even now signs of the approach of this third era, not so much in the action of Governments as in the growing tendency among many men and women in many lands to contribute their means, and in some cases their lives, to the intellectual and moral awakening of those who sit in darkness. Nowhere are these signs more abundant than in our own beloved land. I have felt more proud of my countrymen than ever before since I have visited the circuit of schools, hospitals, and churches which American philanthropy has built around the world. Before the sun sets upon one of these centers of a new civilization it rises upon another.

On the walls of the temple at Karnak an ancient artist carved the likeness of an Egyptian king; the monarch is represented as holding a group of captives by the hair, the other hand raising a club as if to strike a blow. What king would be willing to confess himself so cruel today? In some of the capitals of Europe there are monuments built of, or ornamented with, cannon taken in war; this

form of boasting, once popular, is still tolerated, tho it must in time give way to some emblem of victory less suggestive of slaughter. As we are gathered tonight in England's capital, permit me to conclude with a sentiment suggested by a piece of statuary which stands in Windsor Castle. It represents the late lamented Queen Victoria leaning upon her royal consort; he has one arm about her, and with the other hand is pointing upward. The sculptor has told in marble an eloquent story of strength coupled with tenderness, of love rewarded with trust, of sorrow brightened by hope, and he has told the story so plainly that it was scarcely necessary to chisel the words: "Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way." It was a beautiful conception—more beautiful than that which gave to the world the Greek Slave, the Dying Gladiator, or the Goddess Athene, and it embodies an idea which, with the expanding feeling of comradeship, can be applied to the association of nations, as well as to the relations that exist between husband and wife. Let us indulge the hope that our nation may so measure up its great opportunities, and so bear its share of the White Man's Burden, as to earn the right to symbolize its progress by a similar figure. If it has been allured by Providence to higher ground, may it lead the way, winning the confidence of those who follow it, and exhibiting the spirit of Him who said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me."

I take pleasure, therefore, on this occasion among our countrymen and our countrymen's friends in proposing: "The Day We Celebrate"—The 4th of July.

V

AT THE PEACE CONGRESS

Delivered in London, in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, on July 26, 1906, at the session of The Interparliamentary Union, or Peace Congress.

I REGRET that I can not speak to you in the language which is usually employed in this body, but I know only one language, the language of my own country, and you will pardon me if I use that. I desire in the first place to express my appreciation of the courtesy shown me by Lord Weardale, our president, and by Baron von Plener, the chairman of the committee which framed the model treaty. The latter has framed this substitute embodying both of the ideas (investigation and meditation) which were presented yesterday. I recognize the superior wisdom and the greater experience of this learned committee which has united the two propositions, and I thank this body also for the opportunity to say just a word in defense of my part of the resolution. I cannot say that it is a new idea, for since it was presented yesterday I have learned that the same idea in substance was presented last year at Brussels by Mr. Bartholdt, of my own country, who has been so conspicuous in his efforts to promote peace, and I am very glad that I can follow in his footsteps in the urging of this amendment. I may add also that it is in line with the suggestion made by the honorable prime-

minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in that memorable and epoch-making speech of yesterday, in that speech which contained several sentences any one of which would have justified the assembling of this Interparliamentary Union—any one of which would have compensated us all for coming here. In that splendid speech he exprest the hope that the scope of arbitration treaties might be enlarged. He said:

"Gentlemen, I fervently trust that before long the principle of arbitration may win such confidence as to justify its extension to a wider field of international differences. We have already seen how questions arousing passion and excitement have attained a solution, not necessarily by means of arbitration in the strict sense of the word, but by referring them to such a tribunal as that which reported on the North Sea incident; and I would ask you whether it may not be worth while carefully to consider, before the next congress meets at The Hague, the various forms in which differences might be submitted, with a view to opening the door as wide as possible to every means which might in any degree contribute to moderate or compose such differences."

This amendment is in harmony with this suggestion. The resolution is in the form of a postscript to the treaty, but like the postscripts to some letters it contains a very vital subject—in fact, I am not sure but the postscript in this case is as important as the letter itself, for it deals with those questions which have defied arbitration. Certain questions affecting the honor or integrity of a nation are generally thought to be outside of the jurisdiction of a court of arbitration, and these are the questions which have given trouble. Passion is not often aroused by questions that do not affect a nation's integrity or honor, but for fear

these questions may arise arbitration is not always employed where it might be. The first advantage, then, of this resolution is that it secures an investigation of the facts, and if you can but separate the facts from the question of honor, the chances are 100 to 1 that you can settle both the fact and the question of honor without war. There is, therefore, a great advantage in an investigation that brings out the facts, for disputed facts between nations, as between friends, are the cause of most disagreements.

The second advantage of this investigation is that it gives time for calm consideration. That has already been well presented by the gentleman who has preceded me, Baron von Plener. I need not say to you that man excited is a very different animal from man calm, and that questions ought to be settled, not by passion, but by deliberation. If this resolution would do nothing else but give time for reflection and deliberation, there would be sufficient reason for its adoption. If we can but stay the hand of war until conscience can assert itself, war will be made more remote. When men are mad they swagger around and tell what they can do; when they are calm they consider what they ought to do.

The third advantage of this investigation is that it gives opportunity to mobilize public opinion for the compelling of a peaceful settlement and that is an advantage not to be overlooked. Public opinion is coming to be more and more a power in the world. One of the greatest statesmen of my country—Thomas Jefferson, and if it would not offend

I would say I believe him to be the greatest statesman the world has produced—said that if he had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government, he would rather risk the newspapers without a government. You may call it an extravagant statement, and yet it presents an idea, and that idea is that public opinion is a controlling force. I am glad that the time is coming when public opinion is to be more and more powerful; glad that the time is coming when the moral sentiment of one nation will influence the action of other nations; glad that the time is coming when the world will realize that a war between two nations affects others than the nations involved; glad that the time is coming when the world will insist that nations settle their differences by some peaceful means. If time is given for the marshaling of the force of public opinion peace will be promoted. This resolution is presented, therefore, for the reasons that it gives an opportunity to investigate the facts, and to separate them from the question of honor, that it gives time for the calming of passion, and that it gives time for the formation of a controlling public sentiment.

I will not disguise the fact that I consider this resolution a long step in the direction of peace, nor will I disguise the fact that I am here because I want this Interparliamentary Union to take just as long a step as possible in the direction of universal peace. We meet in a famous hall, and looking down upon us from these walls are pictures that illustrate not only the glory that is to be won in

war, but the horrors that follow war. There is a picture of one of the great figures in English history (pointing to the fresco by Maclise of the death of Nelson). Lord Nelson is represented as dying, and around him are the mangled forms of others. I understand that war brings out certain virtues. I am aware that it gives opportunity for the display of great patriotism; I am aware that the example of men who give their lives for their country is inspiring; but I venture to say there is as much inspiration in a noble life as there is in a heroic death, and I trust that one of the results of this Interparliamentary Union will be to emphasize the doctrine that a life devoted to the public, and ever flowing, like a spring, with good, exerts an influence upon the human race and upon the destiny of the world as great as any death in war. And if you will permit me to mention one whose career I watched with interest and whose name I revere, I will say that, in my humble judgment, the sixty-four years of spotless public service of William Ewart Gladstone will, in years to come, be regarded as rich an ornament to the history of this nation as the life of any man who poured out his blood upon a battlefield.

All movements in the interest of peace have back of them the idea of brotherhood. If peace is to come in this world, it will come because people more and more clearly recognize the indissoluble tie that binds each human being to every other. If we are to build permanent peace it must be on the foundation of the brotherhood of men. A poet has described how in the civil war that divided our

country into two hostile camps a generation ago—in one battle a soldier in one line thrust his bayonet through a soldier in the opposing line, and how, when he stooped to draw it out, he recognized in the face of the fallen one the face of his own brother. And then the poet describes the feeling of horror that overwhelmed the survivor when he realized that he had taken the life of one who was the child of the same parents and the companion of his boyhood. It was a pathetic story, but is it too much to hope that as years go by we will begin to understand that the whole human race is but a larger family?

It is not too much to hope that as years go by human sympathy will expand until this feeling of unity will not be confined to the members of a family or to the members of a clan or of a community or State, but shall be world-wide. It is not too much to hope that we, in this assembly, possibly by this resolution, may hasten the day when we shall feel so appalled at the thought of the taking of any human life that we shall strive to raise all questions to a level where the settlement will be by reason and not by force.

Note:—The following resolution urged by Mr. Bryan was unanimously adopted, "If a disagreement should arise which is not included in those to be submitted to arbitration the contracting parties shall not resort to any act of hostility before they separately or jointly invite, as the case may necessitate, the formation of the international commission of inquiry or mediation of one or more friendly powers, this requisition to take place, if necessary, in accordance with Article VIII. of The Hague convention providing for a peaceful settlement of international conflicts."

EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS SPEECHES

I

THE VALUE OF AN IDEAL

A lecture delivered at numerous Chautauquas and College gatherings, beginning in 1901.

WHAT is the value of an ideal? Have you ever attempted to estimate its worth? Have you ever tried to measure its value in dollars and cents? If you would know the pecuniary value of an ideal, go into the home of some man of great wealth who has an only son; go into that home when the son has gone downward in a path of dissipation until the father no longer hopes for his reform, and then ask the father what an ideal would have been worth that would have made a man out of his son instead of a wreck. He will tell you that all the money that he has or could have he would gladly give for an ideal of life that would turn his boy's steps upward instead of downward.

An ideal is above price. It means the difference between success and failure—the difference between a noble life and a disgraceful career, and it sometimes means the difference between life and death. Have you noticed the increasing number of suicides? I speak not of those sad cases in which the reason dethroned leaves the hand no guide, but rather of those cases, increasing in number, where the person who takes his life finds nothing worth living for. When I read of one of these cases I ask

myself whether it is not caused by a false ideal of life. If one measures life by what others do for him he is apt to be disappointed, for people are not likely to do as much for him as he expects. One of the most difficult things in life is to maintain the parity between one's opinion of his own merits and the opinion that others have of him. If, I repeat, a man measures life by what others do for him, he is apt to be disappointed, but if he measures life by what he does for others, there is no time for despair. If he measures life by its accumulations, these usually fall short of his expectations, but if he measures life by the contribution which he makes to the sum of human happiness, his only disappointment is in not finding time to do all that his heart prompts him to do. Whether he spends his time trying to absorb from the world, only to have the burden of life grow daily heavier, or spends his time in an effort to accomplish something of real value to the race, depends upon his ideal.

The ideal must be far enough above us to keep us looking up toward it all the time, and it must be far enough in advance of us to keep us struggling toward it to the end of life. It is a very poor ideal that one ever fully realizes, and it is a great misfortune for one to overtake his ideal, for, when he does, his progress stops. I was once made an honorary member of a class and asked to suggest a class motto. I suggested "Ever-Green" and some of the class did not like it. They did not like to admit that they ever had been green, not to speak of always being green. But it is a good class motto

because the period of greenness is the period of growth. When we cease to be green and are entirely ripe we are ready for decay. I like to think of life as a continual progress toward higher and better things—as a continual unfolding. There is no better description of a really noble life than that given in Holy Writ where Solomon speaks of the path of the just as "like the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

The ideal is permanent; it does not change. Therefore it is so important that the ideal shall be a worthy one. I speak as a parent to parents, and teachers will endorse what I say, when I declare that one of the most important things in dealing with the young is to get the person to take firm hold of a high ideal. Give one food and he will hunger again; give him clothing and his clothing will wear out, but give him a high ideal and that ideal will be with him through every waking hour, lifting him to a higher plane in life and giving him a broader conception of his relations to his fellows. Plans may change; circumstances will change plans. Each one of us can testify to this. Even ambitions change, for circumstances will change ambitions. If you will pardon a reference to my own case, I have had three ambitions—two so far back that I can scarcely remember them, and one so recent that I can hardly forget it. My first ambition was to be a Baptist preacher. When I was a small boy, if any body asked me what I intended to be, I always replied: "A Baptist preacher"; but my father took me one evening to see an immersion and upon reaching home I asked him

if it would be necessary to go down into that pool of water in order to be a Baptist preacher. He replied that it would, and it is a tradition in our family that I never afterwards would say that I was going to be a Baptist preacher.

My second ambition was to be a farmer and raise pumpkins, and there are doubtless a great many people who are glad that I now have a chance to realize my second ambition without having my agricultural pursuits interrupted by official cares.

My third ambition was to be a lawyer. When I was a barefoot boy I used to go to the court house and sitting upon the steps leading up to the bench upon which my father then sat I listened to the trial of cases and looked forward to the time when I would be practising at the bar. That ambition guided me through my boyhood days and my college days. I studied law, was admitted to the bar, practiced for a while in Illinois and then located in Nebraska. In removing from Illinois to Nebraska I was influenced solely by professional reasons. I need not give you any further assurance that I did not move to Nebraska for political reasons than to say that at the time of my location in Lincoln, Nebraska was republican, the congressional district was republican, the county was republican, the city was republican, the ward was republican, and the voting precinct was republican—and to tell the truth about it, there has not been as much change in that respect as there ought to have been considering the intelligence of the people among whom I have been living.

I entered politics by accident and remained there

by design. I was nominated for Congress in 1890 because it was not thought possible for a Democrat to be elected. I was young and new in the State. If it had been a democratic district the honor would have gone to some one older, of longer residence and more deserving. A republican paper said next morning after the convention that a confidence game had been played upon a young man from Illinois and that he had been offered as a sacrifice upon the party altar because he had not been in the State long enough to know the political complexion of the district. My location in Nebraska was due to my acquaintance with a man whom I learned to know in college, and this acquaintance became more intimate because of a joke which I played upon him when we were students. Tracing it back, step by step, I said one evening in Baltimore that I was elected to congress as a result of a joke that I played upon a friend in college. The gentleman who followed me said that that was nothing, that he had known men to go to Congress as a result of a joke they had played upon an entire community.

My term in congress brought me into contact with the great political and economic problems now demanding solution and I have never since that time been willing to withdraw myself from their study and discussion, and I offer no apology at this time for being interested in the science of government. It is a noble science, and one to which the citizen must give his attention. I have no patience with those who feel that they are too good to take part in politics. When I find a person

who thinks that he is too good to take part in politics, I find one who is not quite good enough to deserve the blessings of a free government. Parents sometimes warn their sons to keep out of politics; mothers sometimes urge their sons to avoid politics lest they become contaminated by it. This ought not to be. It used to be the boast of the Roman matron that she could rear strong and courageous sons for the battle-field. In this age when the victories of peace are no less renowned than the victories of war, and in this country where every year brings a conflict, it ought to be the boast of American mothers that they can rear strong and courageous sons who can enter politics without contamination and purify politics rather than be corrupted by politics.

But while my plans and ambitions have been changed by circumstances, I trust that my ideals of citizenship have not changed, and that I may be permitted to share with you an ideal that will place above the holding of any office, however great, the purpose to do what we can to make this country so good that to be a private citizen in the United States will be greater than to be a king in any other nation.

The ideal dominates the life, determines the character and fires a man's place among his fellows. I shall mention some instances that have come under my own observation and as I speak of them I am sure you will recall instances within your knowledge where the ideal has in an open and obvious way controlled the life. I have known laboring men who, working for wages, have been

able to support themselves, acquire a library and become acquainted with the philosophers, orators and historians of the world, and many of them have laid aside enough to gratify their ambition for a college course. What enables them to resist temptation and press forward to the consummation of a high purpose? It is their ideal of life. As I have gone through the country I have found here and there young men—sometimes the sons of farmers, sometimes the sons of mechanics, sometimes the sons of merchants, sometimes the sons of profesional men—young men who have one characteristic in common, namely, that they have been preparing for service. They have learned that service is the measure of greatness, and tho they have not always known just what line of work they were to follow, they have been preparing themselves for service, and they will be ready when the opportunity comes.

I know a young man who came to this country when he was eighteen years of age; he came to study our institutions and learn of our form of government, and now he has returned with a determination to be helpful to his people. I watched him for five years, and I never knew a man who more patiently or perseveringly pursued a high ideal. You might have offered him all the money in the treasury to have become a citizen of the United States, but it would have been no temptation to him. He would have told you that he had a higher ideal than to stand guard over a chest of money. His desire was to be useful to his country, and I have no doubt that he will be.

I was passing through Chicago some months ago and having a few hours to spare between trains, went out to the Hull House, that splendid institution presided over by Jane Addams. I was surprized to learn of the magnitude of its work. I learned that more than five thousand names were enrolled upon the books of the association; that mothers left their babes there to be cared for when they went out to work, that little children received kindergarten instruction there, that young women found a home there, and young men a place where they could meet and commune free from the temptations of city life. More than twenty young men and young women give their entire time to the work of this association without compensation. Similar institutions will be found in nearly all of the larger cities and in many of the smaller ones, and in these institutions young men and young women, many of them college graduates, give a part or all of their time to gratuitous work. Why? Because somehow or somewhere they have taken hold of an ideal of life that lifts them above the sordid selfishness that surrounds them and makes them find a delight in bringing life and light and hope into homes that are dark. The same can be said of the thousands who labor in the institutions of charity, mercy and benevolence.

A few months ago it was my good fortune to spend a day in the country home of the great philosopher of Russia. You know something of the history of Tolstoy, how he was born in the ranks of the nobility and how with such a birth he enjoyed every possible social distinction. At an early

age he became a writer of fiction and his books have given him a fixt place among the novelists of the century. "He sounded all the depths and shoals of honor" in so far as honor could be derived from society or from literature, and yet at the age of forty-eight life seemed so vain and empty to him that he wanted to die. They showed me a ring in the ceiling of a room in his house from which he had planned to hang himself. And what deterred him? A change came in his ideals. He was born again, he became a new creature, and for more than twenty-eight years, clad in the garb of a peasant and living the simple life of a peasant, he has been preaching unto all the world a philosophy that rests upon the doctrine "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself." There is scarcely a civilized community in all the world where the name of Tolstoy is not known and where his influence has not been felt. He has made such an impression upon the heart of Russia and the world that while some of his books are refused publication in Russia and denied importation from abroad, and while people are prohibited from circulating some of the things that he writes, yet with a million men under arms the government does not lay its hands upon Tolstoy.

Let me add another illustration of a complete change in the ideal. In college I become acquainted with a student fourteen years my senior, and learned the story of his life. For some years he was a tramp, going from place to place without fixt purpose or habitation. One night he went by

accident into a place where a revival was in progress, and he was not only converted but he decided to be a minister. I watched him as he worked his way through college, doing chores to earn his board and lodging, working on Saturdays in a store, and during the summer months at anything he could find to do. I watched him as he worked his way through the theological seminary, and then I watched him as he preached the Gospel until he died, and I never knew a man more consecrated to a high purpose. The change came in his life as in the twinkling of an eye. Could anything be more marvelous?

Some have rejected the Christian religion because they could not understand its mysteries and its miracles.

I have been reading a book recently on materialism and I have been interested in the attempt of the author to drive God out of the universe. He searches for Him with a microscope, and because he cannot find him with a microscope, he declares that he is too small to see; then he searches for Him with a telescope, and because he cannot see Him among the stars or beyond, he declares that there is no God—that matter and force alone are eternal, and that force acting on matter has produced the clod, the grass that grows upon the clod, the beast that feeds upon the grass, and man, the climax of created things. I have tried to follow his reasoning and have made up my mind that it requires more faith to accept the scientific demonstrations of materialism than to accept any religion I have ever known. As I tried to follow

his syllogisms I was reminded of the reasoning of a man who conceived the idea that a grasshopper heard through its legs. But he would not accept it without demonstration, so he took a grasshopper, put it on a board and knocked on the board. The grasshopper jumped, and this he regarded as evidence that the sound traveled along the board till it reached the grasshopper's legs and then went up through the legs to the center of life. But he was not willing to accept it upon affirmative proof alone; he insisted upon proving it negatively, so he pulled the legs off the grasshopper and put it on the board and rapped again. As the grasshopper did not jump, he was convinced that it heard through its legs.

I say I was reminded of the grasshopper scientist when I read the arguments employed to prove that there is no God, no spiritual life.

In the journey from the cradle to the grave we encounter nothing so marvelous as the change in the ideals that works a revolution in the life itself, and there is nothing in materialism to explain this change.

It makes a great deal of difference to the individual what his ideal is, and it also makes a difference to those about him. If you have a man working for you, it makes a great deal of difference to you whether he is watching you all the time to see that you give him the best possible pay for his work, or watching himself a little to see that he gives you the best possible work for his pay. And we are all working for somebody. Instead of working by the day and receiving our pay at night,

or instead of working by the month and receiving our pay at the end of the month, we may be in independent business and receiving a compensation fixt by competition, but if we are not living a life of idleness we must be working for somebody, and it makes a great deal of difference to society whether we are simply bent upon absorbing as much as possible from the world, or are trying to give a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of pay. There are some who regard it as a discreditable thing to engage in productive labor. There are places where they count with pride the number of generations between themselves and honest toil. If I can leave but one thought with the young men who honor me by their presence on this occasion, let it be this thought—that we must all have food and clothing and shelter, and must either earn these things or have them given to us, and any self-respecting young man ought to be ashamed to sponge upon the world for his living and not render unto the world valuable service in return.

Sometimes you meet a man who boasts that he is "self-made," that he did it all himself, that he owes no man anything. When I hear of a man boasting of his independence I feel like cross-examining him. We owe a great deal to environment. I was going along by the side of the court house in Chicago one wintry day when I was in law school and saw some little boys gambling with their pennies in a warm corner by the building. A question arose in my mind, namely, why these little fellows were born and reared amid an envi-

ronment that gave them no higher ideals of life, while so many in Chicago and in the country at large were born amid a more favorable environment. The scene made an impression upon my memory, and when I hear a man boasting that he owes no one anything, I feel like asking him whether he has paid back the debt he owes to father and mother, teacher and patriarch? Whether he has paid back the debt he owes to the patriots who with blood and sacrifice purchased the liberties which we now enjoy. We have received so much from the generations past and from those about us that, instead of boasting of what we have done, we ought to learn humility and be content if at the end of life we can look back over the years and be assured that we have given to the world a service equal in value to that which we have received.

There is abroad in the land a speculative spirit that is doing much harm. Instead of trying to earn a living, young men are bent on making a fortune. Not content with the slow accumulations of honest toil, they are seeking some short cut to riches, and are not always scrupulous about the means employed. The "get-rich-quick" schemes that spring up and swindle the public until they are discovered and driven out to prey upon the speculative spirit and find all their victims among those who are trying to get something for nothing.

What we need today is an ideal of life that will make people as anxious to render full service as they are to draw full pay—an ideal that will make

them measure life by what they bestow upon their fellows and not by what they receive.

Not only must the individual have an ideal, but we must have ideals as groups of individuals and in every department of life. We have our domestic ideals. Whether a marriage is happy or not depends not so much upon the size of the house or the amount of the income, as upon the ideals with which the parties enter marriage. If two people contract marriage like some people trade horses—each one trying to get the better of the bargain—it is not certain that the marriage will be a happy one. In fact, the man who cheats in a horse trade has at least one advantage over the man who cheats in matrimony. The man who cheats in a horse trade may console himself with the thought that he may never see again the person whom he has cheated. Not so fortunate is the man who cheats in marriage. He not only sees daily the person whom he has cheated, but he is sometimes reminded of it—and it is just as bad if the cheating is done by the other side. Americans sometimes have to blush when they read of the international marriages so much discust in the papers. I speak not now of those cases where love leaps across the ocean and binds two hearts—there are such cases and they are worthy of a blessing. But I speak rather of those commercial transactions which are, by courtesy, called marriages, where some young woman in this country trades a fortune that she never earned to a broken-down prince in another country for a title that he never earned, and they call it a fair exchange. I have sometimes thought

that it might be worth while to establish papers in the centers of the old world to tell the people of our real marriages, so that they would not misunderstand us.

There is an American ideal of domestic life. When two persons, drawn together by the indissoluble ties of love, enter marriage, each one contributing a full part and both ready to share life's struggles and trials as well as its victories and its joys—when these, mutually helpful and mutually forbearing, start out to build an American home it ought to be the fittest earthly type of heaven.

In business it is necessary to have an ideal. It is as impossible to build a business without an ideal as it is to build a house without a plan. Some think that competition is so sharp now that it is impossible to be strictly honest in business; some think that it is necessary to recommend a thing, not as it is, but as the customer wants it to be. There never was a time when it was more necessary than it is today that business should be built upon a foundation of absolute integrity.

In the professions, also, an ideal is necessary. Take the medical profession for illustration. It is proper that the physician should collect money from his patients for he must live while he helps others to live, but the physicians who have written their names high upon the scroll of fame have had a higher ideal than the making of money. They have had a passion for the study of their profession; they have searched diligently for the hidden causes of disease and the remedies therefor and they have found more delight in giving to the

world some discovery of benefit to the race than they have found in all of the money that they have collected from their patients.

And the lawyer; has he ideals? Yes. And I suppose the ideals of lawyers vary as much as the ideals in any other profession. The lawyer's ideals have an influence upon his character. He can not persistently defeat justice, or even ignore it without a conscious lowering of his manhood, while conscientious search for justice increases his power of discernment and adds to his moral strength.

Then, too, a lawyer's influence with the judge depends largely upon his reputation for honesty. Of course, a lawyer can fool a judge a few times, and lead him into a hole, but after awhile the judge learns to know the lawyer, and then he cannot follow the lawyer's arguments because he is looking for the hole all the time, which he knows is somewhere and which he is trying to avoid. I need not remind you that nothing is so valuable to a jury lawyer as a reputation that will make the jurors believe that he will not under any circumstances misstate a proposition of law or of evidence. And so I might take up each occupation, calling and profession, and show that the ideal controls the life, determines the character and establishes a man's place among his fellows.

But let me speak of the ideals of a larger group. What of our political ideals? The party as well as the individual must have its ideals, and we are far enough from the election to admit that there is room in all the parties for the raising of the party ideal. How can a person most aid his party?

Let us suppose that one is passionately devoted to his party and anxious to render it the maximum of service; how can he render this service? By raising the ideal of his party. If a young man asks me how he can make a fortune in a day, I cannot tell him. If he asks how he can become rich in a year, I know not what to answer him, but I can tell him that if he will locate in any community and for twenty-five years live an honest life, an industrious life, a useful life, he will make friends and fasten them to him with hooks of steel; he will make his impress upon the community and the chances are many to one that before the quarter of a century has elapsed his fellows will call upon him to act for them and to represent them in important matters.

And so if you ask me how we can win an election this year, I do not know. If you ask me how we can insure a victory four years from now, I cannot tell, but I do know that the party which has the highest ideals and that strives most earnestly to realize its ideals will ultimately dominate this country and make its impress upon the history of the nation. As it is more important that the young man shall know how to build character and win a permanent success than that he shall know how to become rich in a day, so it is more important that we shall know how to contribute to the permanent influence of a party than it is that we be able to win a temporary victory or distribute the spoils of office after a successful campaign.

The country is suffering to-day from a demor-

alization of its ideals. Instead of measuring people by the manhood or womanhood they manifest, we are too prone to measure them by the amount of money they possess, and this demoralization has naturally and necessarily extended to politics. Instead of asking "Is it right?" we are tempted to ask "Will it pay?" and "Will it win?" As a result the public conscience is becoming seared and the public service debauched. We find corruption in elections and corruption in office. Men sell their votes, councilmen sell their influence, while State legislators and federal representatives turn the government from its legitimate channels and make it a private asset in business. It is said that in some precincts in Delaware a majority of the voters have been paid for their votes. Governor Garvin of Rhode Island calls attention to the corruption in that State; there is corruption in Connecticut, in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania. I learned of an instance in New York where a farmer with a quarter-section of land demanded a dollar and a half for his vote, and I learned of another instance in West Virginia where a man came in fourteen miles from the country the day before election to notify the committee that he would not vote the next day unless he received a dollar. In some places I found that Democrats were imitating republican methods. They excused it by saying that they were fighting the devil with fire. This is no excuse. It is poor policy to fight the devil with fire. He knows more about fire than you do and does not have to pay so much for fuel. I was assured that the democrats did not buy votes ex-

actly like the republicans. I was assured that the democrats only bought votes when they found some democrat who was being tempted more than he could bear, and that they only used money to fortify the virtue of the democrat for fear he might yield to temptation and become vicious.

How are we to stop this corruption? Not by going into the market and bidding against our opponents, but by placing against money something stronger than money. And what is stronger than money? A conscience is stronger than money. A conscience that will enable a man to stand by a stake and smile while the flames consume him is stronger than money, and we must appeal to the conscience—not to a democratic conscience or to a republican conscience, but to an American conscience and to a Christian conscience and place this awakened conscience against the onflowing tide of corruption in the United States.

We must have parties in this country. Jefferson said that there were naturally two parties in every country—a democratic party and an aristocratic party (and he did not use the word "democratic" in a partisan sense, for at that time the party which we now call democratic was called the republican party). Jefferson said that a democratic party would naturally draw to itself those who believe in the people and trust them, while an aristocratic party would naturally draw to itself those who do not believe in or trust the people. Jefferson was right. Go into any country in Europe, and you will find a party of some name that is trying to increase the participation of the peo-

ple in the government, and you will also find a party of some name which is obstructing every step toward popular government. We have the same difference in this country, but the democratic spirit is broader here than any party. Wherever the question has been clearly presented and on the one side there was an attempt to carry the government nearer to the people and on the other an effort to carry the government further from the people, popular government has always won. Let me illustrate. The Australian ballot is intended to protect the citizen in his right to vote, and thus give effect to the real wishes of the people, and when this reform was proposed it swept the country without regard to the party in power in the various States. Take the demand for the election of senators by the people; upon what does it rest? Upon the belief that the people have the right to and the capacity for self-government. The sentiment in favor of this reform has grown until a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment has passed the Lower House of Congress four times —twice when the house was democratic and twice when it was republican. This reform is sure to come, because the people believe in self-government, and they will in time insist upon making the government conform to their belief.

The initiative and referendum involve the same principles. The initiative describes the process by which the people compel the submission of a question upon which they desire to vote, and the referendum describes the process by which they act upon a question submitted. In each new char-

ter the power of the people is increased. Limitations are placed upon legislative power and new questions are submitted to a popular vote. It is now necessary almost everywhere to submit to the people of a city the question of issuing bonds. The movement in favor of submitting franchises also is an irresistible one, and the time will come when it will be impossible for councilmen to sell franchises in return for money paid to themselves.

Switzerland is probably the most democratic country in the world. There the initiative and referendum are employed by both the federal government and by the local subdivisions, and the government is completely responsive to the will of the people.

In order to formulate a party ideal, we must have a theory of government as a basis, and in this country the fundamental principle of government is that the people have a right to have what they want in legislation. I made this statement in a lecture in Michigan and one of the audience took issue with me. He said that I ought to amend the statement and say that the people have a right to have what they want, *provided they want what is right.* I asked him who would decide the question of right. And he had to admit that, at last, the decision lay with the people. Constitutions place limitations upon legislatures and upon the people themselves, but the constitutions are made by the people and can be changed by the people. The only escape from the rule of the majority is to be found in the rule of the minority, but if a majority make mistakes, would not a minority

also? Mistakes made by a majority will be corrected when they are discovered, but mistakes made by a minority may not be corrected if the mistake is pecuniarily advantageous to those in power. The revolutions that have from time to time shaken the world have been caused largely by the refusal of the minority to correct mistakes beneficial to those who make the mistakes but injurious to the people at large. Bearing in mind the right of the people to deliberately fix the means by which they will express themselves, and their right to place limitations upon themselves, so that they cannot act hastily or under a sudden impulse, I repeat that the people have a right to have what they want in government. If they want a high tariff, they have a right to it; if they want a low tariff, they have a right to that. They have a right to make tariff laws and to repeal them. They have a right to the gold standard if they want it, and they have a right to the double standard if they desire that, or if they prefer they can demonetize both gold and silver and substitute some other kind of money. If gold and silver furnish too much money, they can strike down one; if the remaining metal still furnishes too much, they can strike that down and substitute something scarcer. Ever since the discovery of radium, of which it is said there are but two pounds in the world, I have been fearful that an attempt would be made to make it the standard money of the country. But if the people decide to demonetize both gold and silver and substitute radium I will still insist that they have a right to do it. And then, if they

then decide to give Morgan one pound and Rockefeller the other, I shall still stand with the people and watch Rockefeller and Morgan while they use the money.

The people have a right to have trusts if they want them. They have a right to have one trust, a hundred trusts or a thousand, and they also have a right to kill every private monopoly.

If the people have a right to have what they want, then the duty of the party is plain. It is to present to the people a code of principles and policies to be acted upon by them. Who can defend the practising of deception upon the voters? Who can justify the winning of a victory by false pretense? Who can excuse a fraud upon the people? No one can defend a party ideal that does not require honesty in party contests. The policy of the party must be determined by the voters of the party, and he must have a low conception of political ethics who would seek by stealth to give to the minority of the party the authority that belongs to the majority. And so he must have a low conception of political ethics who would seek to secure for a minority of the people the authority that belongs to a majority. I want my party to write an honest platform, dealing candidly with the questions at issue; I want it to nominate a ticket composed of men who conscientiously believe in the principles of the party as enunciated, and then I want the party to announce to the country "These are our principles; these are our candidates. Elect them and they will carry out the principles for which they stand; they will not

under any circumstances betray the trust committed to their keeping."

This is the ideal that the democratic party ought to have and it is an ideal high enough for every party.

There is this difference between the ideal and other things of value, namely, that an ideal cannot be patented or copyrighted. We often see things that we cannot hope to possess, but there is no ideal, however high, that cannot be ours if we desire it. The highest ideal of human life that this world has ever known was that furnished by the life of the Man of Galilee, but it was an ideal within the comprehension of the fishermen of his day, and the Bible says of Him that the common people heard Him gladly. So with a high party ideal. It can be comprehended by all the members of the party, and it can be adopted by every party. If we can fight out political battles upon this plane there is no humiliation about defeat. I have passed through two presidential campaigns, and many have rejoiced over my defeats, but if events prove that my defeats have been good for this country, I shall rejoice over them myself more than any opponent has rejoiced. And when I say this I am not unselfish, for it is better for me that my political opponents should bring good to my country than that I should by any mistake of mine bring evil.

Not only must the party have an ideal, but the nation must also have its ideal, and it is the ideal of this nation that has made it known throughout the world. You will find people in foreign lands

who do not know our population or the number of acres under our flag. You will find people who do not know how many cattle we raise or how much corn or cotton we export, but you will not find people anywhere who have not some conception of the nation's ideal. This ideal has been a light shining out unto all the world and its rays have illumined the shores of every land. We have boasted of this ideal in the past, and it must not be lowered now. We followed this ideal in dealing with Cuba. It was my good fortune to be in Cuba on the day when the formal transfer took place, and I never was more proud of my nation in my life than I was on the 20th day of May, 1902, when this great republic rose superior to a great temptation, recognized the inalienable rights of the people of Cuba and secured to them the fruits of a victory for which they had struggled and sacrificed for more than a generation. We hauled down the flag, it is true, and in its place they raised the flag of the Cuban republic, but when we lowered the flag we raised it higher than it ever had been before, and when we brought it away we left it enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people.

A nation, like an individual, is strong in proportion as it possesses virtue, and weak if it lacks it. Character is the power of endurance in the group as well as in the person. The nations that have fallen have decayed morally before they have failed physically. If our nation is to endure, it must stand for eternal principles and clothe itself in their strength. There are some who say that we must now have the largest navy in the world to

terrorize other nations, and make them respect us. But if we make our navy the largest in the world, other nations will increase their navies because we have increased ours, and then we will have to increase ours again, because they will have increased theirs, and they will have to increase theirs again because we have increased ours—and there is no limit to this rivalry, but the limit of the power of the people to bear the burdens of taxation. There is a better, a safer and a less expensive plan. Instead of trying to make our navy the largest in the world, let us try to make our government the best government on earth. Instead of trying to make our flag float everywhere, let us make it stand for justice wherever it floats—for justice between man and man, for justice between nation and nation, and for humanity always. And then the people of the world will learn to know and revere that flag, because it will be their protection as well as ours. And then if any king raises his hand against our flag the oppressed people of his own land will rise up and say to him "Hands off! That flag stands for our rights as well as the rights of the American people." It is possible to make our flag represent such an ideal. We shall not fulfil our great mission, we shall not live up to our high duty, unless we present to the world the highest ideals in individual life, in domestic life, in business life, in professional life, in political life—and the highest national ideal that the world has ever known.

II

THE PRINCE OF PEACE

A lecture delivered at many Chautauquas and religious gatherings, in America, beginning in 1904; also in Canada, Mexico, Tokyo, Manila, Bombay, Cairo and Jerusalem.

I OFFER no apology for speaking upon a religious theme, for it is the most universal of all themes. I am interested in the science of government, but I am more interested in religion than in government. I enjoy making a political speech—I have made a good many and shall make more—but I would rather speak on religion than on politics. I commenced speaking on the stump when I was only twenty, but I commenced speaking in the church six years earlier—and I shall be in the church even after I am out of politics. I feel sure of my ground when I make a political speech, but I feel even more certain of my ground when I make a religious speech. If I addrest you upon the subject of law I might interest the lawyers; if I discust the science of medicine I might interest the physicians; in like manner merchants might be interested in comments on commerce, and farmers in matters pertaining to agriculture; but no one of these subjects appeals to all. Even the science of government, tho broader than any profession or occupation, does not embrace the whole sum of life, and those who think upon it differ so among themselves that I could not speak upon

the subject so as to please a part of the audience without displeasing others. While to me the science of government is intensely absorbing, I recognize that the most important things in life lie outside of the realm of government and that more depends upon what the individual does for himself than upon what the government does or can do for him. Men can be miserable under the best government and they can be happy under the worst government.

Government affects but a part of the life which we live here and does not deal at all with the life beyond, while religion touches the infinite circle of existence as well as the small arc of that circle which we spend on earth. No greater theme, therefore, can engage our attention. If I discuss questions of government I must secure the cooperation of a majority before I can put my ideas into practise, but if, in speaking on religion, I can touch one human heart for good, I have not spoken in vain no matter how large the majority may be against me.

Man is a religious being; the heart instinctively seeks for a God. Whether he worships on the banks of the Ganges, prays with his face upturned to the sun, kneels toward Mecca or, regarding all space as a temple, communes with the Heavenly Father according to the Christian creed, man is essentially devout.

There are honest doubters whose sincerity we recognize and respect, but occasionally I find young men who think it smart to be skeptical; they talk as if it were an evidence of larger intelligence to

scoff at creeds and to refuse to connect themselves with churches. They call themselves "Liberal," as if a Christian were narrow minded. Some go so far as to assert that the "advanced thought of the world" has discarded the idea that there is a God. To these young men I desire to address myself.

Even some older people profess to regard religion as a superstition, pardonable in the ignorant but unworthy of the educated. Those who hold this view look down with mild contempt upon such as give to religion a definite place in their thoughts and lives. They assume an intellectual superiority and often take little pains to conceal the assumption. Tolstoy administers to the "cultured crowd" (the words quoted are his) a severe rebuke when he declares that the religious sentiment rests not upon a superstitious fear of the invisible forces of nature, but upon man's consciousness of his finiteness amid an infinite universe and of his sinfulness; and this consciousness, the great philosopher adds, man can never outgrow. Tolstoy is right; man recognizes how limited are his own powers and how vast is the universe, and he leans upon the arm that is stronger than his. Man feels the weight of his sins and looks for One who is sinless.

Religion has been defined by Tolstoy as the relation which man fixes between himself and his God, and morality as the outward manifestation of this inward relation. Every one, by the time he reaches maturity, has fixt some relation between himself and God and no material change in this relation

can take place without a revolution in the man, for this relation is the most potent influence that acts upon a human life.

Religion is the foundation of morality in the individual and in the group of individuals. Materialists have attempted to build up a system of morality upon the basis of enlightened self-interest. They would have man figure out by mathematics that it pays him to abstain from wrongdoing; they would even inject an element of selfishness into altruism, but the moral system elaborated by the materialists has several defects. First, its virtues are borrowed from moral systems based upon religion. All those who are intelligent enough to discuss a system of morality are so saturated with the morals derived from systems resting upon religion that they cannot frame a system resting upon reason alone. Second, as it rests upon argument rather than upon authority, the young are not in a position to accept or reject. Our laws do not permit a young man to dispose of real estate until he is twenty-one. Why this restraint? Because his reason is not mature; and yet a man's life is largely moulded by the environment of his youth. Third, one never knows just how much of his decision is due to reason and how much is due to passion or to selfish interest. Passion can dethrone the reason—we recognize this in our criminal laws. We also recognize the bias of self-interest when we exclude from the jury every man, no matter how reasonable or upright he may be, who has a pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. And, fourth, one whose moral-

ity rests upon a nice calculation of benefits to be secured spends time figuring that he should spend in action. Those who keep a book account of their good deeds seldom do enough good to justify keeping books. A noble life cannot be built upon an arithmetic; it must be rather like the spring that pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates.

Morality is the power of endurance in man; and a religion which teaches personal responsibility to God gives strength to morality. There is a powerful restraining influence in the belief that an all-seeing eye scrutinizes every thought and word and act of the individual.

There is wide difference between the man who is trying to conform his life to a standard of morality about him and the man who seeks to make his life approximate to a divine standard. The former attempts to live up to the standard, if it is above him, and down to it, if it is below him—and if he is doing right only when others are looking he is sure to find a time when he thinks he is unobserved, and then he takes a vacation and falls. One needs the inner strength which comes with the conscious presence of a personal God. If those who are thus fortified sometimes yield to temptation, how helpless and hopeless must those be who rely upon their own strength alone!

There are difficulties to be encountered in religion, but there are difficulties to be encountered everywhere. If Christians sometimes have doubts and fears, unbelievers have more doubts and greater fears. I passed through a period of skepticism

when I was in college and I have been glad ever since that I became a member of the church before I left home for college, for it helped me during those trying days. And the college days cover the dangerous period in the young man's life; he is just coming into possession of his powers, and feels stronger than he ever feels afterward—and he thinks he knows more than he ever does know.

It was at this period that I became confused by the different theories of creation. But I examined these theories and found that they all assumed something to begin with. You can test this for yourselves. The nebular hypothesis, for instance, assumes that matter and force existed—matter in particles infinitely fine and each particle separated from every other particle by space infinitely great. Beginning with this assumption, force working on matter—according to this hypothesis—created a universe. Well, I have a right to assume, and I prefer to assume, a Designer back of the design—a Creator back of the creation; and no matter how long you draw out the process of creation, so long as God stands back of it you cannot shake my faith in Jehovah. In Genesis it is written that, in the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth, and I can stand on that proposition until I find some theory of creation that goes farther back than "the beginning." We must begin with something—we must start somewhere—and the Christian begins with God.

I do not carry the doctrine of evolution as far as some do; I am not yet convinced that man is a lineal descendant of the lower animals. I do not

mean to find fault with you if you want to accept the theory; all I mean to say is that while you may trace your ancestry back to the monkey if you find pleasure or pride in doing so, you shall not connect me with your family tree without more evidence than has yet been produced. I object to the theory for several reasons. First, it is a dangerous theory. If a man links himself in generations with the monkey, it then becomes an important question whether he is going toward him or coming from him—and I have seen them going in both directions. I do not know of any argument that can be used to prove that man is an improved monkey that may not be used just as well to prove that the monkey is a degenerate man, and the latter theory is more plausible than the former.

It is true that man, in some physical characteristics resembles the beast, but man has a mind as well as a body, and a soul as well as a mind. The mind is greater than the body and the soul is greater than the mind, and I object to having man's pedigree traced on one-third of him only —and that the lowest third. Fairbairn, in his "Philosophy of Christianity," lays down a sound proposition when he says that it is not sufficient to explain man as an animal; that it is necessary to explain man in history—and the Darwinian theory does not do this. The ape, according to this theory, is older than man and yet the ape is still an ape while man is the author of the marvelous civilization which we see about us.

One does not escape from mystery, however, by accepting this theory, for it does not explain the

origin of life. When the follower of Darwin has traced the germ of life back to the lowest form in which it appears—and to follow him one must exercise more faith than religion calls for—he finds that scientists differ. Those who reject the idea of creation are divided into two schools, some believing that the first germ of life came from another planet and others holding that it was the result of spontaneous generation. Each school answers the arguments advanced by the other, and as they cannot agree with each other, I am not compelled to agree with either.

If I were compelled to accept one of these theories I would prefer the first, for if we can chase the germ of life off this planet and get it out into space we can guess the rest of the way and no one can contradict us, but if we accept the doctrine of spontaneous generation we cannot explain why spontaneous generation ceased to act after the first germ was created.

Go back as far as we may, we cannot escape from the creative act, and it is just as easy for me to believe that God created man *as he is* as to believe that, millions of years ago, He created a germ of life and endowed it with power to develop into all that we see to-day. I object to the Darwinian theory, until more conclusive proof is produced, because I fear we shall lose the consciousness of God's presence in our daily life, if we must accept the theory that through all the ages no spiritual force has touched the life of man or shaped the destiny of nations.

But there is another objection. The Darwinian

theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate—the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak. If this is the law of our development then, if there is any logic that can bind the human mind, we shall turn backward toward the beast in proportion as we substitute the law of love. I prefer to believe that love rather than hatred is the law of development. How can hatred be the law of development when nations have advanced in proportion as they have departed from that law and adopted the law of love?

But, I repeat, while I do not accept the Darwinian theory I shall not quarrel with you about it; I only refer to it to remind you that it does not solve the mystery of life or explain human progress. I fear that some have accepted it in the hope of escaping from the miracle, but why should the miracle frighten us? And yet I am inclined to think that it is one of the test questions with the Christian.

Christ cannot be separated from the miraculous; His birth, His ministrations, and His resurrection, all involve the miraculous, and the change which His religion works in the human heart is a continuing miracle. Eliminate the miracles and Christ becomes merely a human being and His gospel is stript of divine authority.

The miracle raises two questions: "Can God perform a miracle?" and, "Would He want to?" The first is easy to answer. A God who can make a world can do anything He wants to do with it. The power to perform miracles is necessarily im-

plied in the power to create. But would God *want* to perform a miracle?—this is the question which has given most of the trouble. The more I have considered it the less inclined I am to answer in the negative. To say that God *would not* perform a miracle is to assume a more intimate knowledge of God's plans and purposes than I can claim to have. I will not deny that God does perform a miracle or may perform one merely because I do not know how or why He does it. I find it so difficult to decide each day what God wants done now that I am not presumptuous enough to attempt to declare what God might have wanted to do thousands of years ago. The fact that we are constantly learning of the existence of new forces suggests the possibility that God may operate through forces yet unknown to us, and the mysteries with which we deal every day warn me that faith is as necessary as sight. Who would have credited a century ago the stories that are now told of the wonder-working electricity? For ages man had known the lightning, but only to fear it; now, this invisible current is generated by a man-made machine, imprisoned in a man-made wire and made to do the bidding of man. We are even able to dispense with the wire and hurl words through space, and the X-ray has enabled us to look through substances which were supposed, until recently, to exclude all light. The miracle is not more mysterious than many of the things with which man now deals—it is simply different. The miraculous birth of Christ is not more mysterious than any other conception—it is

simply unlike it; nor is the resurrection of Christ more mysterious than the myriad resurrections which mark each annual seed-time.

It is sometimes said that God could not suspend one of His laws without stopping the universe, but do we not suspend or overcome the law of gravitation every day? Every time we move a foot or lift a weight we temporarily overcome one of the most universal of natural laws and yet the world is not disturbed.

Science has taught us so many things that we are tempted to conclude that we know everything, but there is really a great unknown which is still unexplored and that which we have learned ought to increase our reverence rather than our egotism. Science has disclosed some of the machinery of the universe, but science has not yet revealed to us the great secret—the secret of life. It is to be found in every blade of grass, in every insect, in every bird and in every animal, as well as in man. Six thousand years of recorded history and yet we know no more about the secret of life than they knew in the beginning. We live, we plan; we have our hopes, our fears; and yet in a moment a change may come over anyone of us and this body will become a mass of lifeless clay. What is it that, having, we live, and having not, we are as the clod? The progress of the race and the civilization which we now behold are the work of men and women who have not yet solved the mystery of their own lives.

And our food, must we understand it before we eat it? If we refused to eat anything until we

could understand the mystery of its growth, we would die of starvation. But mystery does not bother us in the dining-room; it is only in the church that it is a stumbling block.

I was eating a piece of watermelon some months ago and was struck with its beauty. I took some of the seeds and dried them and weighed them, and found that it would require some five thousand seeds to weigh a pound; and then I applied mathematics to that forty-pound melon. One of these seeds, put into the ground, when warmed by the sun and moistened by the rain, takes off its coat and goes to work; it gathers from somewhere two hundred thousand times its own weight, and forcing this raw material through a tiny stem, constructs a watermelon. It ornaments the outside with a covering of green; inside the green it puts a layer of white, and within the white a core of red, and all through the red it scatters seeds, each one capable of continuing the work of reproduction. Who drew the plan by which that little seed works? Where does it get its tremendous strength? Where does it find its coloring matter? How does it collect its flavoring extract? How does it develop a watermelon? Until you can explain a watermelon, do not be too sure that you can set limits to the power of the Almighty and say just what He would do or how He would do it.

The egg is the most universal of foods and its use dates from the beginning, but what is more mysterious than an egg? When an egg is fresh it is an important article of merchandise; a hen

can destroy its market value in a week's time, but in two weeks more she can bring forth from it what man could not find in it. We eat eggs, but we cannot explain an egg.

Water has been used from the birth of man; we learned after it had been used for ages that it is merely a mixture of gases, but it is far more important that we have water to drink than that we know that it is not water.

Everything that grows tells a like story of infinite power. Why should I deny that a divine hand fed a multitude with a few loaves and fishes when I see hundreds of millions fed every year by a hand which converts the seeds scattered over the field into an abundant harvest? We know that food can be multiplied in a few months' time; shall we deny the power of the Creator to eliminate the element of time, when we have gone so far in eliminating the element of space? Who am I that I should attempt to measure the arm of the Almighty with my puny arm, or to measure the brain of the Infinite with my finite mind? Who am I that I should attempt to put metes and bounds to the power of the Creator?

But there is something even more wonderful still—the mysterious change that takes place in the human heart when the man begins to hate the things he loved and to love the things he hated—the marvelous transformation that takes place in the man who, before the change, would have sacrificed a world for his own advancement but who, after the change, would give his life for a principle and esteem it a privilege to make sacrifice for

his convictions! What greater miracle than this, that converts a selfish, self-centered, human being into a center from which good influences flow out in every direction! And yet this miracle has been wrought in the heart of each one of us—or may be wrought—and we have seen it wrought in the hearts and lives of those about us. No, living a life that is a mystery, and living in the midst of mystery and miracles, I shall not allow either to deprive me of the benefits of the Christian religion. If you ask me if I understand everything in the Bible, I answer, no, but if we will try to live up to what we do understand, we will be kept so busy doing good that we will not have time to worry about the passages which we do not understand.

Some of those who question the miracle also question the theory of atonement; they assert that it does not accord with their idea of justice for one to die for all. Let each one bear his own sins and the punishments due for them, they say. The doctrine of vicarious suffering is not a new one; it is as old as the race. That one should suffer for others is one of the most familiar of principles and we see the principle illustrated every day of our lives. Take the family, for instance; from the day the mother's first child is born, for twenty or thirty years her children are scarcely out of her waking thoughts. Her life trembles in the balance at each child's birth; she sacrifices for them, she surrenders herself to them. Is it because she expects them to pay her back? Fortunate for the parent and fortunate for the child if the latter has an opportunity to repay in part the debt it

owes. But no child can compensate a parent for a parent's care. In the course of nature the debt is paid, not to the parent, but to the next generation, and the next—each generation suffering, sacrificing for and surrendering itself to the generation that follows. This is the law of our lives.

Nor is this confined to the family. Every step in civilization has been made possible by those who have been willing to sacrifice for posterity. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience and free government have all been won for the world by those who were willing to labor unselfishly for their fellows. So well established is this doctrine that we do not regard anyone as great unless he recognizes how unimportant his life is in comparison with the problems with which he deals.

I find proof that man was made in the image of his Creator in the fact that, throughout the centuries, man has been willing to die, if necessary, that blessings denied to him might be enjoyed by his children, his children's children and the world.

The seeming paradox: "He that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it," has an application wider than that usually given to it; it is an epitome of history. Those who live only for themselves live little lives, but those who stand ready to give themselves for the advancement of things greater than themselves find a larger life than the one they would have surrendered. Wendell Phillips gave expression to the same idea when he said, "What imprudent men the benefactors of the race have been. How pru-

dently most men sink into nameless graves, while now and then a few *forget* themselves into immortality." We win immortality, not by remembering ourselves, but by forgetting ourselves in devotion to things larger than ourselves.

Instead of being an unnatural plan, the plan of salvation is in perfect harmony with human nature as we understand it. Sacrifice is the language of love, and Christ, in suffering for the world, adopted the only means of reaching the heart. This can be demonstrated not only by theory but by experience, for the story of His life, His teachings, His sufferings and His death has been translated into every language and everywhere it has touched the heart.

But if I were going to present an argument in favor of the divinity of Christ, I would not begin with miracles or mystery or with the theory of atonement. I would begin as Carnegie Simpson does in his book entitled, "The Fact of Christ." Commencing with the undisputed fact that Christ lived, he points out that one cannot contemplate this fact without feeling that in some way it is related to those now living. He says that one can read of Alexander, of Cæsar or of Napoleon, and not feel that it is a matter of personal concern; but that when one reads that Christ lived, and how He lived and how He died, he feels that somehow there is a cord that stretches from that life to his. As he studies the character of Christ he becomes conscious of certain virtues which stand out in bold relief—His purity, His forgiving spirit, and His unfathomable love. The author is correct. Christ presents an example of purity in thought

and life, and man, conscious of his own imperfections and grieved over his shortcomings, finds inspiration in the fact that He was tempted in all points like as we are, and yet without sin. I am not sure but that each can find just here a way of determining for himself whether he possesses the true spirit of a Christian. If the sinlessness of Christ inspires within him an earnest desire to conform his life more nearly to the perfect example, he is indeed a follower; if, on the other hand, he resents the reproof which the purity of Christ offers, and refuses to mend his ways, he has yet to be born again.

The most difficult of all the virtues to cultivate is the forgiving spirit. Revenge seems to be natural with man; it is human to want to get even with an enemy. It has even been popular to boast of vindictiveness; it was once inscribed on a man's monument that he had repaid both friends and enemies more than he had received. This was not the spirit of Christ. He taught forgiveness and in that incomparable prayer which He left as a model for our petitions, He made our willingness to forgive the measure by which we may claim forgiveness. He not only taught forgiveness but He exemplified His teachings in His life. When those who persecuted Him brought Him to the most disgraceful of all deaths, His spirit of forgiveness rose above His sufferings and He prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

But love is the foundation of Christ's creed. The world had known love before; parents had loved their children, and children their parents;

husbands had loved their wives, and wives their husbands; and friend had loved friend; but Jesus gave a new definition of love. His love was as wide as the sea; its limits were so far-flung that even an enemy could not travel beyond its bounds. Other teachers sought to regulate the lives of their followers by rule and formula, but Christ's plan was to purify the heart and then to leave love to direct the footsteps.

What conclusion is to be drawn from the life, the teachings and the death of this historic figure? Reared in a carpenter shop; with no knowledge of literature, save Bible literature; with no acquaintance with philosophers living or with the writings of sages dead, when only about thirty years old He gathered disciples about Him, promulgated a higher code of morals than the world had ever known before, and proclaimed Himself the Messiah. He taught and performed miracles for a few brief months and then was crucified; His disciples were scattered and many of them put to death; His claims were disputed, His resurrection denied and His followers persecuted; and yet from this beginning His religion spread until hundreds of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips and millions have been willing to die rather than surrender the faith which He put into their hearts. How shall we account for Him? Here is the greatest fact of history; here is One who has with increasing power, for nineteen hundred years, moulded the hearts, the thoughts and the lives of men, and He exerts more influence to-day than ever before. "What think ye of

Christ?" It is easier to believe Him divine than to explain in any other way what he said and did and was. And I have greater faith, even than before, since I have visited the Orient and witnessed the successful contest which Christianity is waging against the religions and philosophies of the East.

I was thinking a few years ago of the Christmas which was then approaching and of Him in whose honor the day is celebrated. I recalled the message, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and then my thoughts ran back to the prophecy uttered centuries before His birth, in which He was described as the Prince of Peace. To reinforce my memory I re-read the prophecy and I found immediately following a verse which I had forgotten —a verse which declares that of the increase of His peace and government there shall be no end, And, Isaiah adds, that He shall judge His people with justice and with judgment. I had been reading of the rise and fall of nations, and occasionally I had met a gloomy philosopher who preached the doctrine that nations, like individuals, must of necessity have their birth, their infancy, their maturity and finally their decay and death. But here I read of a government that is to be perpetual—a government of increasing peace and blessedness—the government of the Prince of Peace—and it is to rest on justice. I have thought of this prophecy many times during the last few years, and I have selected this theme that I might present some of the reasons which lead me to believe that Christ has fully earned the right to be called The

Prince of Peace—a title that will in the years to come be more and more applied to Him. If he can bring peace to each individual heart, and if His creed when applied will bring peace throughout the earth, who will deny His right to be called the Prince of Peace?

All the world is in search of peace; every heart that ever beat has sought for peace, and many have been the methods employed to secure it. Some have thought to purchase it with riches and have labored to secure wealth, hoping to find peace when they were able to go where they pleased and buy what they liked. Of those who have endeavored to purchase peace with money, the large majority have failed to secure the money. But what has been the experience of those who have been eminently successful in finance? They all tell the same story, viz., that they spent the first half of their lives trying to get money from others and the last half trying to keep others from getting their money, and that they found peace in neither half. Some have even reached the point where they find difficulty in getting people to accept their money; and I know of no better indication of the ethical awakening in this country than the increasing tendency to scrutinize the methods of money-making. I am sanguine enough to believe that the time will yet come when respectability will no longer be sold to great criminals by helping them to spend their ill-gotten gains. A long step in advance will have been taken when religious, educational and charitable institutions refuse to condone conscienceless methods in business and leave

the possessor of illegitimate accumulations to learn how lonely life is when one prefers money to morals.

Some have sought peace in social distinction, but whether they have been within the charmed circle and fearful lest they might fall out, or outside, and hopeful that they might get in, they have not found peace. Some have thought, vain thought, to find peace in political prominence; but whether office comes by birth, as in monarchies, or by election, as in republics, it does not bring peace. An office is not considered a high one if all can occupy it. Only when few in a generation can hope to enjoy an honor do we call it a great honor. I am glad that our Heavenly Father did not make the peace of the human heart to depend upon our ability to buy it with money, secure it in society, or win it at the polls, for in either case but few could have obtained it, but when He made peace the reward of a conscience void of offense toward God and man, He put it within the reach of all. The poor can secure it as easily as the rich, the social outcasts as freely as the leader of society, and the humblest citizen equally with those who wield political power.

To those who have grown gray in the Church, I need not speak of the peace to be found in faith in God and trust in an overruling Providence. Christ taught that our lives are precious in the sight of God, and poets have taken up the thought and woven it into immortal verse. No uninspired writer has exprest it more beautifully than William Cullen Bryant in his Ode to a Waterfowl. After following the wanderings of the bird of passage as

it seeks first its southern and then its northern home, he concludes:

Thou art gone; the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form, but on my heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright.

Christ promoted peace by giving us assurance that a line of communication can be established between the Father above and the child below. And who will measure the consolations of the hour of prayer?

And immortality! Who will estimate the peace which a belief in a future life has brought to the sorrowing hearts of the sons of men? You may talk to the young about death ending all, for life is full and hope is strong, but preach not this doctrine to the mother who stands by the death-bed of her babe or to one who is within the shadow of a great affliction. When I was a young man I wrote to Colonel Ingersoll and asked him for his views on God and immortality. His secretary answered that the great infidel was not at home, but enclosed a copy of a speech of Col. Ingersoll's which covered my question. I scanned it with eagerness and found that he had exprest himself about as follows: "I do not say that there is no God, I simply say I do not know. I do not say that there is no life beyond the grave, I simply say I do not know." And from that day

to this I have asked myself the question and have been unable to answer it to my own satisfaction, how could anyone find pleasure in taking from a human heart a living faith and substituting therefor the cold and cheerless doctrine, "I do not know."

Christ gave us proof of immortality and it was a welcome assurance, altho it would hardly seem necessary that one should rise from the dead to convince us that the grave is not the end. To every created thing God has given a tongue that proclaims a future life.

If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will he leave neglected in the earth the soul of man, made in the image of his Creator? If he stoops to give to the rose bush, whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze, the sweet assurance of another springtime, will He refuse the words of hope to the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If matter, mute and inanimate, tho changed by the forces of nature into a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial spirit of man suffer annihilation when it has paid a brief visit like a royal guest to this tenement of clay? No, I am sure that He who, notwithstanding his apparent prodigality, created nothing without a purpose, and wasted not a single atom in all his creation, has made provision for a future life in which man's universal longing for immortality will find its realization. I am as sure that we live again as I am sure that we live to-day.

In Cairo I secured a few grains of wheat that had slumbered for more than thirty centuries in an Egyptian tomb. As I looked at them this thought came into my mind: If one of those grains had been planted on the banks of the Nile the year after it grew, and all its lineal descendants had been planted and replanted from that time until now, its progeny would to-day be sufficiently numerous to feed the teeming millions of the world. An unbroken chain of life connects the earliest grains of wheat with the grains that we sow and reap. There is in the grain of wheat an invisible something which has power to discard the body that we see, and from earth and air fashion a new body so much like the old one that we cannot tell the one from the other. If this invisible germ of life in the grain of wheat can thus pass unimpaired through three thousand resurrections, I shall not doubt that my soul has power to clothe itself with a body suited to its new existence when this earthly frame has crumbled into dust.

A belief in immortality not only consoles the individual, but it exerts a powerful influence in bringing peace between individuals. If one actually thinks that man dies as the brute dies, he will yield more easily to the temptation to do injustice to his neighbor when the circumstances are such as to promise security from detection. But if one really expects to meet again, and live eternally with, those whom he knows to-day, he is restrained from evil deeds by the fear of endless remorse. We do not know what rewards are in store for us or what punishments may be reserved, but if there were

no other it would be some punishment for one who deliberately and consciously wrongs another to have to live forever in the company of the person wronged and have his littleness and selfishness laid bare. I repeat, a belief in immortality must exert a powerful influence in establishing justice between men and thus laying the foundation for peace.

Again, Christ deserves to be called The Prince of Peace because He has given us a measure of greatness which promotes peace. When His disciples quarreled among themselves as to which should be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven, He rebuked them and said: "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." Service is the measure of greatness; it always has been true; it is true to-day, and it always will be true, that he is greatest who does the most of good. And how this old world will be transformed when this standard of greatness becomes the standard of every life! Nearly all of our controversies and combats grow out of the fact that we are trying to get something from each other—there will be peace when our aim is to do something for each other. Our enmities and animosities arise largely from our efforts to get as much as possible out of the world—there will be peace when our endeavor is to put as much as possible into the world. The human measure of a human life is its income; the divine measure of a life is its outgo, its overflow—its contribution to the welfare of all.

Christ also led the way to peace by giving us a formula for the propagation of truth. Not all of those who have really desired to do good have em-

ployed the Christian method—not all Christians even. In the history of the human race but two methods have been used. The first is the forcible method, and it has been employed most frequently. A man has an idea which he thinks is good; he tells his neighbors about it and they do not like it. This makes him angry; he thinks it would be so much better for them if they would like it, and, seizing a club, he attempts to make them like it. But one trouble about this rule is that it works both ways; when a man starts out to compel his neighbors to think as he does, he generally finds them willing to accept the challenge and they spend so much time in trying to coerce each other that they have no time left to do each other good.

The other is the Bible plan—"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good." And there is no other way of overcoming evil. I am not much of a farmer—I get more credit for my farming than I deserve, and my little farm receives more advertising than it is entitled to. But I am farmer enough to know that if I cut down weeds they will spring up again; and farmer enough to know that if I plant something there which has more vitality than the weeds I shall not only get rid of the constant cutting, but have the benefit of the crop besides.

In order that there might be no mistake in His plan of propagating the truth, Christ went into detail and laid emphasis upon the value of example—"So live that others seeing your good works may be constrained to glorify your Father which is in Heaven." There is no human influence so potent

for good as that which goes out from an upright life. A sermon may be answered; the arguments presented in a speech may be disputed, but no one can answer a Christian life—it is the unanswerable argument in favor of our religion.

It may be a slow process—this conversion of the world by the silent influence of a noble example but it is the only sure one, and the doctrine applies to nations as well as to individuals. The Gospel of the Prince of Peace gives us the only hope that the world has—and it is an increasing hope—of the substitution of reason for the arbitrament of force in the settlement of international disputes. And our nation ought not to wait for other nations—it ought to take the lead and prove its faith in the omnipotence of truth.

But Christ has given us a platform so fundamental that it can be applied successfully to all controversies. We are interested in platforms; we attend conventions, sometimes traveling long distances; we have wordy wars over the phraseology of various planks, and then we wage earnest campaigns to secure the endorsement of these platforms at the polls. The platform given to the world by The Prince of Peace is more far-reaching and more comprehensive than any platform ever written by the convention of any party in any country. When He condensed into one commandment those of the ten which relate to man's duty toward his fellows and enjoined upon us the rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," He presented a plan for the solution of all the problems that now vex society or may hereafter arise. Other

remedies may palliate or postpone the day of settlement, but this is all-sufficient and the reconciliation which it effects is a permanent one.

My faith in the future—and I have faith—and my optimism—for I am an optimist—my faith and my optimism rest upon the belief that Christ's teachings are being more studied to-day than ever before, and that with this larger study will come a larger application of those teachings to the every-day life of the world, and to the questions with which we deal. In former times when men read that Christ came "to bring life and immortality to light," they placed the emphasis upon immortality; now they are studying Christ's relation to human life. People used to read the Bible to find out what it said of Heaven; now they read it more to find what light it throws upon the pathway of to-day. In former years many thought to prepare themselves for future bliss by a life of seclusion here; we are learning that to follow in the footsteps of the Master we must go about doing good. Christ declared that He came that we might have life and have it more abundantly. The world is learning that Christ came not to narrow life, but to enlarge it—not to rob it of its joy, but to fill it to overflowing with purpose, earnestness and happiness.

But this Prince of Peace promises not only peace but strength. Some have thought His teachings fit only for the weak and the timid and unsuited to men of vigor, energy and ambition. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Only the man of faith can be courageous. Confident that he fights on

the side of Jehovah, he doubts not the success of his cause. What matters it whether he shares in the shouts of triumph? If every word spoken in behalf of truth has its influence and every deed done for the right weighs in the final account, it is immaterial to the Christian whether his eyes behold victory or whether he dies in the midst of the conflict.

"Yea, tho thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here.

Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed,
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave."

Only those who *believe* attempt the seemingly impossible, and, by attempting, prove that one, with God, can chase a thousand and that two can put ten thousand to flight. I can imagine that the early Christians who were carried into the coliseum to make a spectacle for those more savage than the beasts, were entreated by their doubting companions not to endanger their lives. But, kneeling in the center of the arena, they prayed and sang until they were devoured. How helpless they seemed, and, measured by every human rule, how hopeless was their cause! And yet within a few decades the power which they invoked proved mightier than the legions of the emperor and the faith in which they died was triumphant o'er all the land. It is said that those who went to mock at their sufferings returned asking themselves, "What is it that can enter into the heart of man and make him die

as these die?" They were greater conquerors in their death than they could have been had they purchased life by a surrender of their faith.

What would have been the fate of the church if the early Christians had had as little faith as many of our Christians of to-day? And if the Christians of to-day had the faith of the martyrs, how long would it be before the fulfilment of the prophecy that "every knee shall bow and every tongue confess?"

I am glad that He, who is called the Prince of Peace—who can bring peace to every troubled heart and whose teachings, exemplified in life, will bring peace between man and man, between community and community, between State and State, between nation and nation throughout the world—I am glad that He brings courage as well as peace so that those who follow Him may take up and each day bravely do the duties that to that day fall.

As the Christian grows older he appreciates more and more the completeness with which Christ satisfies the longings of the heart, and, grateful for the peace which he enjoys and for the strength which he has received, he repeats the words of the great scholar, Sir William Jones:

"Before thy mystic altar, heavenly truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth,
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brightened by thy ray."

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III

MAN

Delivered at the commencement exercises of the Nebraska State University, on June 15th, 1905, and also at the commencement exercises of Illinois College.

THE Psalmist asks of Jehovah, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man, that thou visitest him?" And answering his own question he adds: "For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor."

Man, in the sense in which the term describes the human being to whom the Creator has given dominion over earth, and air and sea, and upon whom He has imposed responsibilities commensurate with capabilities and possibilities—man, as thus defined, is an appropriate theme for an occasion like this, and its consideration is worthy not only of those who, having completed the course of study prescribed by this institution, go forth to meet life's problems, but worthy also of the thought of those of us who are older.

Miracle of miracles is man! Most helpless of all God's creatures in infancy; most powerful when fully developed, and interesting always. What unfathomed possibilities are wrapt within the swaddling clothes that enfold an infant! Who can measure a child's influence for weal or woe? Be-

fore it can lisp a word, it has brought to one woman the sweet consciousness of motherhood, and it has given to one man the added strength that comes with a sense of responsibility. Before its tiny hands can lift a feather's weight, they have drawn two hearts closer together and its innocent prattle echoes through two lives. Every day that child in its growth touches and changes some one; not a year in all its history but that it leaves an impress upon the race. What incalculable space between a statue, however flawless the marble, however faultless the workmanship, and a human being "aflame with the passion of eternity."

If the statue can not, like a human being, bring the gray hairs of a parent "in sorrow to the grave," or devastate a nation, or with murderous hand extinguish the vital spark in a fellow being, neither can it, like a human being, minister to suffering mankind, nor scatter gladness "o'er a smiling land," nor yet claim the blessings promised in the Sermon on the Mount. Only to man, made in the Divine likeness, is given the awful power to choose between measureless success and immeasurable woe.

Man shares with the animal a physical nature—he has a body, the citadel of the mind, the temporary tenement of the soul. It is necessary that this link in the endless chain that connects the generations past with the generations yet to come shall be made as strong as conditions, heredity and environment, will permit. Infinitely varied are the physical capabilities bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Some of us are heirs to virtuous estates

with which no courts can interfere; some of us bear in our bodies the evidence of ancestral sins and are living proof of the fact that the iniquities of the parents are visited upon the children. All of us inherit both weaknesses and elements of strength. It is within our power to conserve and to increase the strength that has come down to us, and it is also within our power to dissipate the physical fortune which we have received. Nothing but a proper conception of the creature's stewardship under the Creator can protect the individual from the rust of inaction, the wear of excess and the waste that arises from a perverted use of the powers of the body.

If civilization can be defined—and I know of no better definition—as the harmonious development of the human race, physically, mentally and morally, then each individual, whether his influence is perceptible or not, raises the level of the civilization of his age just in proportion as he contributes to the world's work a body, a mind and a heart capable of maximum effort. No one lives unto himself or dies unto himself. The tie that binds each human being to every other human being is one that cannot be severed. We cannot without blame invite a physical weakness that can be avoided or continue one which can be remedied. The burdens to be borne are great enough to tax the resources of all when service is rendered under the most favorable conditions; no one has a right to offer less than the best within his power.

Every kind of sport, every form of exercise that contributes to the development of the body, without

mental deterioration or an impairment of the moral forces, can be encouraged. Not only does the body demand attention in the growing years, but it requires continuous care throughout the entire life. A stunted body is the penalty for overwork in the child, a weak body the penalty of lack of exercise, but nature's punishments are not visited upon youth alone. The overworked or underfed man or woman cannot escape nature's penalty, neither can those escape who, fancying themselves more fortunate, invite the evils of idleness and overfeeding. An eminent Swiss, Carl Hilty, in his book on "Happiness," declares that regular employment at some work which satisfies the conscience and the judgment is essential to any true enjoyment of life, and Tolstoy quotes with approval the opinion of the Russian writer, Bonderef, who insists that systematic manual labor is a religious duty as well as a physical requirement. If any one supposes that education should relieve him from a personal knowledge of bread-labor—"the primary struggle with nature"—he is in grievous error. At present the strength of the race is materially lessened by the decay consequent upon the idleness of those who have come to regard physical toil as a disgrace (unless endured for amusement), and the average length of life is shortened by those who convert the normal function of eating into gluttony. Those who approach life in the right spirit and seek the highest development must in the very beginning understand the importance of so mastering the body and its forces as to make them potent for good. In the care of the body three things are

necessary: First, food sufficient in quantity and proper in quality to insure growth until maturity and health afterwards. At present we have at one extreme those who suffer from lack of nourishing food and at the opposite extreme those who ruin their health with high living. Second, the body needs exercise sufficient in quantity and kind to keep it in good working order. At present a large number, young and old, work too long, while, on the other hand, many do not work at all. Third, the body needs rest sufficient for recuperation. Today a portion of the population have too little opportunity for rest, while others rest until they become weary of resting.

It is hardly necessary to add that no habit, however pleasant it may be, can with wisdom be acquired or with safety continued which increases the probability of sickness, tends to weaken the body in the struggles with diseases, or in any other way impairs the vital forces. The total drain upon the nation's strength resulting from the use of liquor and tobacco can scarcely be estimated, not to speak of other forms of dissipation.

But man must be more than a perfect animal; he does not rise above the level of the beast if he permits his thoughts to rest entirely upon blood, and bone and muscle. The prolongation of life would scarcely be worth the effort, or the warding off of disease reward the care, if there were not more in human life than food, toil and rest.

The presence of these graduates, attended by parents, relatives and friends, is evidence that there is in this community a recognition of the import-

ance of the training of the mind. The scholastic course prescribed by our educators and paid for out of the productive labor of the state represents a considerable pecuniary outlay. No compulsory legal requirements are necessary to convince a large majority of the parents of the short-sightedness of denying to a child the mental training given by our schools. From the first day in the kindergarten to the last day in the university the student follows a path marked out by discriminating wisdom and guarded by sympathetic interest. Those who are foolish enough to exchange the permanent advantage of an education for the temporary gain of remunerative employment have, as a rule, a protracted season of repentance. As the workman gains rather than loses by the time employed in sharpening his tools, so the student accumulates more capital by careful preparation than he can by too early an entrance upon money making. There is in some quarters a disposition to regard what is contemptuously called "book-learning" as of little value except in the professions. No error can be more harmful, and it arises from a misconception of the purpose of education. Books are not to be despised; they contain the best thought of the authors and these best thoughts are again sifted by time. While one should know people as well as the written page, still books are faithful friends.

Even if the student's thoughts were centered upon himself there could be no excuse for inadequate preparation or for the attempt sometimes made to substitute technical training for general

instruction. But when it is remembered that instruction is not purely for the benefit of the individual, but for the public as well, the importance of a liberal education becomes still more apparent. The person who understands the fundamental principles of science can render a larger service than one who is ignorant of the lines along which nature acts; mathematics teach exactness in thought and argument; literature and language give readiness, expression and illustration, while history equips us with that knowledge of the past which is essential to a proper estimate of the future. And how shall we excuse the blindness of those—if there be such—who, believing in popular institutions, would deny to the masses a knowledge of political economy, sociology and the science of government—a knowledge so useful in the discharge of the high duties of citizenship? Whether a boy intends to dig ditches, follow the plow, lay brick upon brick, join timber to timber, devote himself to merchandising, enter a profession, engage in teaching, expound the Scriptures, or in some other honorable way make his contribution to society, I am anxious that he shall have all the education that our schools can furnish. He will do better work because of his education; he will have his mind for his companion and will not be tempted to loaf upon the streets when the day's work is done, and he will be in a position to demand reasonable conditions, reasonable terms and reasonable compensation for those who toil.

Where an education has seemed to be a detriment in business or has yielded a less dividend

than might properly be expected, it can be traced to a deficit in purpose rather than to a surplus of learning.

And this leads us to the consideration of the necessity for a moral development to accompany mental training. An athlete bent on mischief can do more harm than a dwarf or an invalid; and so, a well-disciplined mind, misdirected, is capable of doing more serious damage than an ignorant mind. Society is poorly repaid for the money spent upon education if the one who profits by the expenditure feels ashamed to cooperate with those whose toil supplies him with food and clothing. That labor is dignified, that work is honorable, is a truth that needs to be imprest upon every young man and upon every young woman. It is worthier by far to add something to the world's store of wealth than to spend the money that others have earned. We must have food, and clothing and shelter, and we must earn these things or some one must give them to us. A young man's self-respect ought to make him ashamed to sponge upon the world for a living; he ought to insist upon repaying with interest the service which society renders him; and this rule applies to young women as well as to the young men, for the forms of service are infinite and the return that women make to society is as valuable as the return made by men. The essential thing is that each person, man or woman, shall recognize the obligation to contribute in helpfulness.

There is no place for the drone in human society, and as public opinion becomes more enlightened we

shall give less regard to those, however refined or well educated, who consult their own pleasure at the expense of others and more consideration to the bread-winners whose hands are calloused and whose brows are acquainted with perspiration.

There is evident on every side a distortion of view as to the relative desirability of a life of productive labor as compared with a life of luxurious ease, and a widening gulf seems to divide the two. This should not be true. The bud, blooming in beauty and fragrance, might as justly scorn the roots of the rosebud because they come into contact with the soil, as that any man, however trained in mind or supplied with means, should hold in contempt those who with brain and muscle coax the annual crop from mother earth, fashion the fabric which protects him from heat and cold, or bring fuel from the coal mines.

An education is incomplete which does not place a noble purpose behind mental training and make the hands willing to work. The work should ultimately be the largest work of which the hands are capable, but at all times it should be the work that most needs to be done. That education is also defective which so inflames one's vanity or so shrivels one's heart as to separate him in sympathy from his fellows. Education has been known to do this—yes, education has even been known to make a graduate ashamed of his parents. A Chicago paper recently reported such a case. A mother who had been denied the advantages of the schools, but who had by economy and sacrifice enabled her son to attend college, visited him after he had established

himself in the practise of the law. She had looked forward for years to his success, and started upon her visit with great expectation. She soon learned, however, that her presence embarrassed her son—that he did not want his clients to know that she was his mother. Her heart was broken, and as she waited at the depot alone for the train that would bear her back to her humble home, she poured forth her sorrow in a letter. If I thought that any of those who receive their diplomas on this glad day would allow their superior advantages to lessen their affection for their parents or to decrease their devotion to them, I would wish them children again. Better loving companionship than intellectual solitude, but there is no reason why the scholar should be less a son or daughter. Head and heart should be developed together, and then each forward step will bring increasing joy, strengthen family ties and make early friendship more sacred.

If he is culpable who shrinks from full participation in the work of this struggling world, or shirks the responsibilities which he is by education prepared to assume, still more culpable are those who, by employing their talents against society, prey upon those who supplied their training. If by force of fraud or cunning one seeks to appropriate to his own use that which he has not earned, he turns against the public the weapons put into his hand by the public for the promotion of the common weal.

The old-fashioned methods of wrong-doing are everywhere condemned, but Professor Ross of the Nebraska University has pointed out some of the

new methods of wrong-doing which do not bear the odium which they deserve. He calls attention not only to the dishonesty involved in the adulteration of food, but to the actual bodily harm done by the mercantile use of the poisons. There has been an enormous increase in the quantity of adulterants used and a woeful lack of conscience manifested among those who find a profit in the practise of dangerous impositions. Professor Ross also presents some statistics to show the mortality due to the failure to use safety appliances—the lives of employes being coined into larger dividends for the benefit of the stockholders. But not all of those who make misuse of their intelligence are engaged in either the adulteration of food or in doing bodily harm through unprotected machinery. The pecuniary damage done by the market speculator is even greater. The gross sum every year abstracted from the pockets of the wealth producers by the misuse of the stock exchange and the chamber of commerce is enormous, for this sum not only includes that which is lost by those who yield to the temptation to sit in the game of speculation with the manipulators of the market, but it includes that still larger sum which measures the injury done legitimate dealers who are the innocent victims of man-made fluctuations.

I know of no more imperative need today than that there should be a clear recognition of the law of rewards, namely, that each person is entitled to draw from society in proportion as he contributes to the welfare of society. This law is fundamental. It conforms to that sense of justice which forms the

broad basis of social intercourse and a firm foundation for government. This sense of justice is offended when any one, either through the favoritism of government or in defiance of government, acquires that for which he has not given an equivalent. There are certain apparent exceptions, but they will upon examination be found to be only apparent or to present evidence of an attempted approximation to the standard. For instance, by general consent there is acquirement by right of discovery. A man finds something of which man has not before known, and altho the discovery may not have caused him great effort, yet it may be of great value. There is justice in giving him a reasonable compensation out of the thing which he has discovered, but the fact that the government under whose jurisdiction the land lies limits by metes and bounds the land which the pioneer may claim is evidence of an effort to fix a relation between service and compensation. And so if one discovers precious metals the law determines the amount of land that can be claimed under the discovery. The inventor, also, in return for the benefits conferred upon society, is given a temporary monopoly of the sale of the thing invented, but the fact that he is protected for a limited time only is another proof of the general desire that the reward collected from society shall be proportioned to the benefit conferred upon society. It is hardly necessary to add that in the case of an invention the attempt is often a crude one, the inventor in many cases losing in large part or entirely the protection intended for him, while some one prepared to furnish money for

experimentation receives the lion's share of the benefits.

The inheritance would seem to furnish the most notable exception to the rule of rewards, and yet it cannot really be considered an exception, for a man's right to provide for those dependent upon him is as sacred as his right to provide for himself, and the mutual obligations between parent and child take inheritances out of the ordinary rules of property, and yet even in this case the graded taxes now imposed upon inheritances in various States—and they should be imposed in all States—indicate a tendency to limit the testamentary disposition of property. Gifts are either, first, an expression of affection or friendship, or, second, payment for service rendered or payment in advance for service to be rendered to the donor or to others.

But turning from the exception to the rule, what could be more salutary today than a universal recognition of this law of rewards? If instead of measuring success by the amount received each one measured success by the amount actually earned, what a transformation would be wrought in the world! If each one were so perfectly under self-control and so attached to a high ideal as not to desire more from the world than a just reward for his contribution to the world's welfare, society would present a changed appearance. Nearly all injustice, nearly all of "man's inhumanity to man," can be traced to an attempt on the part of the wrong-doer to obtain something for nothing or something for which only part payment is offered. A conscientious application of this law of rewards

would not only go far toward adjusting disputes between labor and capital, but it would go far toward removing the barriers between the classes. The employe to make a just complaint against his employer shows that the latter is claiming a larger share of the joint profit than is his due, and the employer to bring a just indictment against his employe alleges that the employe is seeking a larger compensation than he has earned. There would be little difficulty in adjusting hours of labor and the conditions of labor if the primary question of participation in profits could be adjusted, and that adjustment cannot be equitably made upon any other basis than that of equivalent values. With universal acquiescence in this rule the usurer would disappear, carrying his train of evils with him; with the establishment of this rule the stock jobber and the market gambler would cease to disturb the law of supply and demand, and the reign of watered stock and of exploitation would be at an end. The observance of this rule would make factory laws unnecessary and relieve from premature toil hundreds of thousands of children who now, to the shame of our civilization and to the permanent harm of our country, become sullen supporters of the family when they should enjoy the delights of childhood and the advantages of school. Those who, instead of trying to see how much they can squeeze out of the world, are anxious to give to the world a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of pay, are protected against every form of swindling, for the "get-rich-quick" schemes which spring up and impose upon the public until they

are exposed and driven out, always appeal to the speculative spirit, and lead their victims to expect something for nothing.

It must not be understood, however, that the law of rewards comprehends all of one's obligations. There is a clear distinction between justice and benevolence. Justice requires that each person shall be secure in the enjoyment of that which he earns, but there is something better than justice. True, the elimination of injustice is greatly to be desired, but if the world contained nothing more comforting than justice, there might still be a vast amount of suffering and woe. After the government has exhausted human wisdom in the effort to so adjust rewards as to secure to each person a fair and just compensation for all that he does, religion steps in and suggests a still higher and broader rule. Justice would leave the individual to suffer for his own errors and to pay the penalty for his own mistakes, but love, as taught in the Bible and exemplified by the Author of our religion, teaches us "to feel another's woe" and to bear one another's burdens. If sickness overtakes a neighbor it does not satisfy the conscience to say: "He brought it upon himself, let him suffer." If a wife is impoverished by the dissipations of a husband it does not satisfy the conscience to say: "She ought to have known better than to marry him," or "She ought to leave him." If a child is left friendless it does not satisfy the conscience to say: "It is not my child; I owe it nothing." In a multitude of ways we are daily brought face to face with the fact that this world needs something more

helpful, more encouraging, more uplifting than justice, and love supplies this need. A high ideal of life, therefore, leads us to be more exacting with ourselves than we are with others. We must use a larger measure when we estimate society's claims upon us than when we calculate our claims upon society, for while we have a right to expect from society a fair compensation for what we do, we are in duty bound to make to society a contribution which no legal definition can measure.

Those who attempt to construct the world without reference to the spiritual forces which are at work defend altruism on the ground that it is an enlightened self-interest; they contend that the doing of good to others, even sacrificing for others, yields a reward in pleasure. The difficulty about the philosophy that rests upon such calculations is, first, that it is impossible for one to look far enough ahead to form any accurate opinion as to the time or manner in which the reward is to come, and second, that time spent in calculation can better be spent in acting. The person who attempts to keep a book account of the good he does, does not, as a rule, do enough good to justify an entry in the book; the spirit that leads him to keep the account continually hampers him in his work. Life is made up of an innumerable number of small acts, not considered worth doing by those who are guided by selfish considerations. Of the countless millions of kind and generous acts done, but few would have been done had it been necessary to reason out just in what way the bread "cast upon the waters" would return.

The spring is the best illustration of a life conforming to the Christian ideal. As the spring pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates, seeking nothing in return, and asking not who is to be the recipient of its bounty, so a life consecrated to a noble purpose pours forth a constant flood of helpfulness; and man is as little able to follow through succeeding generations the good that he does as the spring is to trace the refreshing influence of its waters.

I have dwelt at length upon the ideal because it is of transcendent importance both to the individual and to those about him. Whether life is a success or not depends far more upon the moral purpose than it does upon the health or mental strength of the individual. History is replete with instances where men and women have accomplished much in spite of great physical infirmity. Helpless cripples and persons deformed have sometimes won a fame denied to athletes and to gladiators; sightless eyes have often beheld spiritual beauties which multitudes have failed to find; the bed of the invalid has sometimes been a throne from which have flown blessings greater than a monarch can bestow. Not only has a high purpose overcome physical obstacles, but it has often made up for the lack of educational advantages. In innumerable cases an uneducated person, inspired by love for a great cause and filled with zeal, has surpassed those far better equipped, but lacking a compelling purpose.

If I were gifted with the power to penetrate the future and could discern the careers which lie

before the graduates of this day, I would doubtless note a wide difference in accomplishments. Making allowance for different standards of measurement, some will be more successful than others; some will surprize their friends by the progress which they make, others may prove a disappointment, and the ideal which to-day lies within each heart, or may hereafter be planted there, will have more to do in explaining the success or failure than the studies that have been pursued here—more than any health report would indicate.

In the Memorabilia of Socrates you will find an interesting description of the choice of Hercules. The great philosopher quotes another Greek in substance as follows:

"When Hercules was advancing toward the period when the young begin to give intimations whether they will enter life by the path of virtue or by that of vice, he went forth into a solitary place and sat down perplexed as to which of these two paths he would pursue. Two maidens appeared before him, one in gaudy attire and with froward manner said: 'Hercules, if you will follow the path that I point out you shall taste of every species of pleasure, and lead a life free from every sort of trouble. Your whole time will be occupied in considering what meat or drink will please you, and what will most delight you.' Hercules asked her name, and she replied: 'My friends call me Happiness but those who hate me give me to my disparagement the name of Vice.'

"The other maiden, more reserved in manner and more modest in demeanor said to him: 'Hercules, I shall not deceive you. The path that I point out is full of labors, full of trials, full of difficulties, but it is a path that leads to immortality. If you seek to be beloved by your friends you must serve your friends. If you desire to be honored by any city, you must benefit that city; if you wish to be admired by all Greece for your merit you must endeavor to be of service to all Greece.' And her name was Virtue."

That which is told in story by the ancient philosopher is set forth in the form of an injunction by the Master, for when his disciples asked who should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, he answered, "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." Thus, if we seek authority from history—whether profane or sacred—we find that he is the greatest who does the most of good. This is the law from which there is no appeal—a law confirmed by all experience, a law proved by the inscriptions upon the monuments reared by grateful hands to those whom the world calls great.

And what an opportunity for service this age presents! If I had my choice of all the ages in which to live, I would choose the present above all others. The ocean steamer and the railway train bring all the corners of the earth close together, while the telegraph—wire and wireless—gives wings to the news and makes the events of each day known in every land during the following night. The printing press has popularized knowledge and made it possible for each one who desires it to possess a key to the libraries of the world. Invention has multiplied the strength of the human arm and brought within the reach of the masses comforts which, until recently, even wealth could not buy. The word "neighborhood" no longer describes a community; that "all ye are brethren" can be more readily comprehended than ever before. It is easier for one to distribute blessings to the world today than it was a few centuries ago to be helpful to the residents of a single valley. A

good example set anywhere can be seen everywhere, so intimate has become the relation between man and man.

And yet with the wonderful spread of knowledge and the marvelous range of achievement there is vast work to be done. Conscience has not kept pace with commerce, nor has moral growth increased with the growth of wealth. The extremes of society have been driven farther and farther apart, and the chord of sympathy between rich and poor is greatly strained. Destitution and squalor lurk in the shadow of palaces, and great lawbreakers vie with petty thieves in ignoring the statutes of the State. The instrumentalities of government are being used for public plunder, and those who make fortunes through legislation employ a tithe of their winnings for the corruption of the sources of public opinion. Not only is a bribe dangled before the eyes of the indigent voter, but those who profit through the control of the government do not hesitate to subsidize newspapers and to scatter their hush money wherever a protest can be silenced.

The opportunity is here and the field inviting. A great orator complained a generation ago that the scholar in the republic was not doing the work for which his education fitted him. He declared that the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, but had been first heard in the solemn protest of martyred patriotism and the loud cries of crusht and starving labor—that the scholars, instead of making history, were content to write it "one-half truly and the

other half as their prejudices might blur and distort it."

Let not this reproach be truthfully uttered against the scholars of America today. With a soil capable of supporting a vast population; with a climate that gives infinite variety and furnishes healing for every ill; with a people commingling the best blood of all the races, and a government which furnishes the greatest stimulus to high endeavor—here the scholar ought to find the most powerful incentive and be inspired to the most heroic effort. Whether he turns his attention to the improvement of crops and herds, to mechanical labor, to the perfecting of methods of exchange or to the cheapening of transportation, or ministers as a physician to the ills of the body, or as an instructor to the wants of the mind, or as a religious teacher to the needs of the heart,—no matter to what he devotes himself, infinite possibilities are before him. In whatever walk of life he takes his place he cannot shirk the duties of citizenship, for, living in a land where every citizen is a sovereign and where no one dares to wear a crown, he must help to make the government good or share the blame for permitting evils that might be corrected.

If we apply the term coward to one who, from fear of bodily harm, falters upon the battlefield, we must find some harsher term to apply to those who ignominiously withdraw themselves from the struggle of today, in the presence of the tremendous problems which require for their wise solution all the energies of the body, all the powers of the mind and all the virtues of the heart.

Members of the graduating class: I have endeavored to impress upon your minds and hearts, first, the possibilities for good or evil of a human being, and, second, the responsibility which great opportunity imposes upon him. I have endeavored to suggest the relation which should exist between body and mind and heart. I have endeavored to emphasize the paramount importance of the moral element. Your labors are not ended, but begun. You are not going into undisturbed retirement, but into the nation's busy, throbbing life. You have been "burning the midnight oil"; henceforth you stand in the sunlight. Fear not to mingle with the poor and the unlearned; they need you most. You will find among them the homely virtues and you will find among them honest inquiry, for it was not in speaking of such that it was said: "The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth."

Strive to make your lives resemble a purifying stream, remembering that the higher the reservoir from which you draw the greater will be the pressure. Let not happiness be the aim of your lives, for happiness eludes those who most eagerly pursue it, but comes unbidden into the homes of those who labor for higher ends.

Beware of selfishness, for selfishness defeats itself. "He that findeth his life shall lose it" is true in other than a religious sense, while he who surrenders himself unreservedly to some great cause gains a larger life than the one surrendered. Wendell Phillips gives fitting expression to this truth when he says, "How prudently most men sink into name-

less graves, while now and then a few forget themselves into immortality."

I have endeavored to suggest an ideal which may be helpful to you when the festivities of this closing week are past and you turn to the sober work of life. No ideal is a sufficient one that will not satisfy us in our declining years, as well as in the days of youth and the days of maturity. Aye, more, no ideal is all that it should be unless it is so lofty as to be visible from both sides of the river that separates the temporal life from the life that is eternal. Be not discouraged because you strive for that which cannot be wholly attained. The ideal is only ideal because it is beyond our reach, and yet it may guide us as the polar star guides the mariner upon the open sea. If perfection is not possible to us, neither is it required of us. When we have done our full duty our consciences will acquit us, and our friends will not condemn. "We work in the real, but we live in the ideal," some one has said, and yet the ideal is the most real thing that we know, as all can testify.

Ask the mother who holds in her arms her boy, what her ideal is concerning him and she will tell you that she desires that his heart may be so pure that it could be laid upon a pillow and not leave a stain; that his ambition may be so holy that it could be whispered in an angel's ear, and that his life may be so clean that his mother, his sister, his wife, his child, could read a record of its every thought and act without a blush. But ask her if she will require this perfection in her son before she showers her love upon him, and she will answer

"No." She will tell you that she will make him as good as she can; that she will follow his footsteps with a daily prayer; that in whatever land he wanders her blessing will abide with him; and that when he dies she'll hope, hope, yes, hope that the world will be better that he has lived. This is all that she can do. All that any of us can do for ourselves or for others is the best that opportunity and circumstances permit.

The development of the individual is never complete. Solomon describes the path of the just as "like the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day," and Holland, putting the same thought into verse, says:

> "Heaven is not gained by a single bound.
> We build the ladder by which we rise
> From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies,
> And mount to its summit round by round."

So, with the work of government and the work of civilization. We find an unfinished work when we arrive; we leave the work unfinished when we are called hence. Each day marks out our duty for us, and it is for us to devote ourselves to it, whatever it may be, with high purpose and unfaltering courage. Whether we live to enjoy the fruits of our efforts or lay down the work before the victory is won, we know that every well-spoken word has its influence; that no good deed is ever lost. And we know, also, that no one can count his life on earth as spent in vain if, when he departs, it can be said: The night is darker because his light has gone out; the world is not so warm because his heart has grown cold in death.

IV

MISSIONS

An address delivered before a number of church societies, beginning in the fall of 1906.

HAVING been a church member from the age of fourteen, and having taken an interest in church work, I had contributed to foreign missions as to other branches of Christian work, and had heard numerous addresses by missionaries respecting the work done in the foreign field. In planning a trip through Asia I had intended to visit a mission station for the purpose of informing myself as to the environment of the missionary and as to the details of his work; circumstances, however, very much enlarged my opportunity for observation, and I feel that I am only performing a duty when I endeavor to convey to your minds the impression made upon my mind by what I saw in the Orient. My experience and observation suggest answers to the objections which I had heard raised to missionary work in foreign lands, and it may be worth while to consider some of these objections.

First, it is argued that "we need the money at home" and cannot afford to send it abroad. I am satisfied that this objection is not sound. The ministers present will bear me out in the assertion that money contributed to foreign missions is not

subtracted from money available for home missions. The foreign missionary work is, as a rule, supported by those who are interested in home missions. The man who excuses himself from contributing to foreign missions on the ground that he wants to keep his money for home missions, generally finds some excuse for withholding his money, even from home missions. The enthusiasm aroused by work in other lands so enlarges the Christian's sympathies that the home missionary work is better supported than it would be if foreign missionary stations were abandoned.

Akin to the first objection is the second, that "we ought to correct the evils at home before we attempt to give instruction abroad." No one will deny that we have a great deal to do at home, but when shall we begin to help others if we must be perfect ourselves before we attempt to extend aid? If an individual refuses to give advice to others, or to lend assistance in the reformation of others until he is himself perfect, he will never render any service to others, for none of us are perfect. Our nation will in like manner, postpone forever the rendering of service to other nations if it waits until there is nothing more to be done at home. No matter how much progress we make, there will always be room for improvement; the higher we rise, the larger the area of our vision and the more we see that needs to be done. If we are ever going to be helpful, we must be helpful while we are still imperfect. The command is not, "Let him that is perfect help the imperfect," but rather, "let him that is strong help the weak." Every

effort that we put forth to help others strengthens us. I remember hearing, in my youth, the story of two travelers in the mountains. One was overcome by cold and sank down discouraged; the other, instead of leaving him to perish, stayed, and by rubbing him sought to prolong his life. The effort kept both alive until help came. And so I am satisfied that the work done in the foreign field strengthens us for the work to be done at home, and that the evidence which the missionaries bring us of the triumphant march of Christianity inspires us to greater activity, both at home and abroad.

Some complain that the missionaries make but few conversions. It is a matter of regret that progress is not more rapid, and yet that is no reason why we should give up the task. The progress of Christianity in the United States is not as rapid as we would like to have it. More than half of the adult males of the United States do not attend any church, and that, too, in a land where we see on every hand evidences of the advantages which Christianity has brought to our country. If here, where the environment tends to bring people into the Church, so many remain outside, we must not be surprized if the spread of our religion is even more slow among the heathen where it is often necessary for one to leave home and friends and to submit to social and business ostracism to become a follower of Christ.

But in spite of all the opposition met by the missionaries Christianity is spreading. The growth of Christianity from its beginning on the banks of the Jordan, until today, when its converts are baptized

in all rivers of the earth, is so graphically described by the Rev. Charles Edward Jefferson, of New York, in his book entitled, "Things Fundamental," that I take the liberty of quoting him:

"Christ in history! There is a fact—face it. According to the New Testament, Jesus walked along the shores of a little sea known as the Sea of Galilee. And there he called Peter and Andrew and James and John and several others to be his followers, and they left all and followed him. After they had followed him they revered him, and later on adored and worshiped him. He left them on their faces, each man saying, 'My Lord and my God!' All that is in the New Testament.

"But put the New Testament away. Time passes; history widens; an unseen Presence walks up and down the shores of a larger sea—the sea called the Mediterranean—and this unseen Presence calls men to follow him. Tertullian, Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, Francis of Assisi, Thomas à Kempis, Savonarola, John Huss, Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin—another twelve—and these all followed him and cast themselves at his feet, saying, in the words of the earlier twelve, 'My Lord and My God!'

"Time passes; history advances; humanity lives its life around the circle of a larger sea—the Atlantic Ocean. An unseen Presence walks up and down the shores calling men to follow him. He calls John Knox, John Wesley, George Whitefield, Charles Spurgeon, Henry Parry Liddon, Joseph Parker, Jonathan Edwards, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, Richard Saltus Storrs, Phillips Brooks, Dwight L. Moody—another twelve—and these leave all and follow him. We find them on their faces, each one saying, 'My Lord and my God!'

"Time passes; history is widening; humanity is building its civilization round a still wider sea—we call it the Pacific Ocean. An unknown Presence moves up and down the shores calling men to follow him, and they are doing it. Another company of twelve is forming. And what took place in Palestine nineteen centuries ago is taking place again in our own day and under our own eyes."

A fourth objection is advanced by a few, namely, that our missionaries may by their mistakes get us into trouble with other nations. Of course, people

are liable to make mistakes, whether they live abroad or at home. We all make mistakes, the non-Christian as well as the Christian, the layman as well as the preacher, and a minister may make mistakes in Asia as well as in the United States, but I am convinced that the good that the missionaries do far outweighs any harm that can come from their mistakes. They make us more friends than enemies. The Americans who go into foreign lands to make money are much more apt to involve us in diplomatic controversies than the missionaries who devote themselves to the uplifting of the people among whom they go.

The last objection to which I shall refer is one that is now made with less frequency than formerly, namely, that God is too merciful to punish the heathen if they die without an opportunity to hear the gospel and that, therefore, it is not necessary to carry the gospel to them. Some have even carried this argument to the point of asserting that if the heathen are free from guilt until they have a chance to reject the gospel, we endanger them when we put them in a position where they may reject it. I am not going to attempt to set limits to the mercy of the Almighty or to interpret his plans respecting the heathen in the next world, but I have seen the heathen *in this life,* and I believe that we owe it to them, as a religious duty, to carry to them the Christian conception of life that they may have the benefit of it *on earth,* no matter what the future may have for them. If Christ's conception of life is worthy to be adopted by us, it is worthy to be communicated to people

everywhere—and this service the missionaries are rendering.

The missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, are to be found all over Asia.

I found several departments of work fully organized. The missionaries are building churches and increasing the number of congregations; I attended church at several places and was imprest with the earnestness of the native Christians. Japan, it seems to me, furnishes a great field for missionary work, and Korea is scarcely second to it. In China the native Christians showed, during the Boxer trouble, a heroism which equalled that displayed by the early Christians.

The medical missionaries are increasing in number and they are doing a very important work. The aid which they render is of a kind that challenges attention, and when natives know that the medical missionary is actuated by love rather than by a desire for gain, they inquire into the source of his love and the reason for its manifestation.

The American College is also a potent influence for good. These schools spring up about the missionary stations and are constantly growing in attendance and in influence. I followed an unbroken chain of them for some six thousand miles from the Pacific to the Mediterranean; I looked into the faces of hundreds, yes thousands, of boys and girls taught by Americans or by teachers paid with American money, and I rejoiced that, if our country could not boast that the sun never sets upon its possessions, it has a prouder boast, namely, that the sun never sets upon American philan-

thropy. Before the sun goes down on one center of civilization established by American money, it rises upon another, and the boundaries of these centers of civilization are constantly enlarging; after awhile the boundaries will meet and when the Orient is redeemed, America will deserve a large share of credit. One cannot measure the far-reaching good that these schools are doing. When we calculate the impress that a life can make upon a nation, and then remember that thousands are instructed in these schools and go out from them to touch the lives and hearts of the people of the Orient, who will attempt to estimate the total good done? Infinite opportunities open before each teacher and each one who contributes to the work has a part in the result.

I found that the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have already gained a foothold in Asia. At Kagashima, Japan, I attended a meeting held under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association, and at a number of places I was the guest of the Young Men's Christian Association. At the close of a Young Men's Christian Association meeting in Allahabad, India, an Indian arose and asked me to assure the people of the United States that Christian ideals have made a deeper impression than the church membership in India would indicate. He expressed appreciation of the missionaries and the teachers who had been sent to them, and complained only that the number was so small compared with the great population of India.

It may not be out of place briefly to call atten-

tion to the religions which our missionaries have to meet. If I had derived no other benefit from the trip I would consider the time well spent because of the acquaintance that it gave me with the religions and philosophies of the East.

If a tree is to be known by its fruits, surely the fruits of Christianity justify its followers in claiming for it a vast superiority over other religions, whether we compare the doctrines taught or the general effect produced by the religions.

Take Mohammedanism for instance. It has several merits. First, it rests upon a belief in one God—the Mohammedan has as great faith in Jehovah as the Christian has. Second, it teaches prayer. The Mohammedan is as careful to observe the hour of prayer as is the Christian, if not more so. Five times a day he kneels, his face toward Mecca, and supplicates his Creator. No matter where he is, the prayer is on his lips. If he is traveling across the desert, he dismounts from his camel and spreads his blanket upon the sand. There is something to respect in a religion that compels man to commune with his heavenly Father.

But the Mohammedan religion degrades woman. In the Mosque there is a place for men to kneel, but if the women enter at all they visit only the gallery, and there they are screened from the sight of men while they look down upon the worshipers. At the age of twelve the girl is taken from the companionship of others, and after that she cannot go unveiled in the presence of men, except those of her own family. Among the followers

of the Prophet society loses the inspiration of woman's presence and woman loses the advantages of social intercourse. Christianity, on the other hand, recognizes that woman's rightful place is by the side of man; Christianity regards man and woman as equal cotenants of the home and as joint partners in the responsibilities and joys of life.

Mohammedanism is propagated by force, while Christianity rests upon love and is spread by moral suasion. Dr. Parkhurst once illustrated the difference between force and love by using a hammer to represent force. With it a chunk of ice could be broken into a thousand pieces, but each piece would still be ice. Love he likened to a ray of sunshine falling upon the ice; it would act slowly but surely, and in a little while there would be no more ice. Love is the most potent influence in the world; it is the weapon for which there is no shield, and Christianity is moving with irresistible force because love is the principle which underlies it.

Buddhism is an agnostic religion. One of the Buddhist papers published in Burma urged the sending of delegates to an international agnostic congress. A Buddhist monk, in enumerating the advantages of Buddhism, told me that one did not have to believe anything to be a Buddhist. It is a reformation of Hinduism. Buddha taught that one could "escape from the wheel"—from the endless round of existence, by absorption into the spirit of the universe. Arnold has described it as "the dewdrop melting into the sea." To the Buddhist, life is a calamity from which escape is to be sought in the loss of individuality; Chris-

tianity regards life as an opportunity to be crowned at its close with still higher existence.

The Buddhist believes that if one has done evil through an indefinite number of lives, he can turn over a new leaf and finally, through an indefinite number of existences, do enough good to overcome the evil; the Christian believes that through repentance past sins can be blotted out, and the new life commenced at once. No wonder that a Japanese in contrasting Buddhism with Christianity said that the former looked down while the latter looked up.

I was more disappointed in Confucianism than in either Mohammedanism or Buddhism, for I had been led to form a higher opinion of the philosophy of the Chinese Sage. I had not read much that Confucius had said, altho I had read tributes to his wisdom, but the more I read of his utterances, the more my admiration for him diminished. I have wondered whether some have not magnified his teachings in order to find in them justification for the rejection of the teachings of the Nazarene. The golden rule of Confucius reads, "Do not unto others as you would not have others do unto you." The Golden Rule of Christ is, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." There is a wide difference between the two; one is negative and the other positive; one enjoins a life of negative harmlessness, while the other commands a life of positive helpfulness. You could stand by a stream and watch a neighbor fall in and drown, and if you did not push him in you need not pull him out; and yet you would not violate the nega-

tive form of the rule, but you would violate the positive form of the rule.

The Chinaman, following the doctrine of Confucius, does not regard it as a duty to help others, but the streams of Christian benevolence girdle the globe.

A follower of Confucius asked him if there was any one word that would cover all the relations of society, and he answered, "Is not reciprocity such a word." Reciprocity? That is a balancing of benefits; if a person does you a favor, do him a favor, and do him just about as much of a favor as he does you—keep it even. It is the calculating selfishness upon which the materialist would build a morality. According to the philosophy of Confucius, we should measure our service to others by the service that others have rendered us; but Christ teaches us to measure our service, not by the service that *has* been rendered, or by the service that *may* be rendered, or by the service that *can* be rendered, but by the *need* of those unto whom we minister. Reciprocity? That is not sufficient. The Christian nations of the world spend hundreds of millions a year to make life more pleasant for the helpless and unfortunate who cannot hope to repay a single dollar of the money spent upon them.

Another follower of Confucius asked him what he thought of the doctrine that evil should be rewarded with good, and he replied: "If you reward evil with good, with what will you reward good?" And then he announced his rule, "Reward evil with justice and reward good with good." Reward evil with justice? How can one tell what

justice is if his heart is full of hatred and he is waiting for an opportunity for revenge? Only when love takes the place of hatred—only when one understands his relation to God, and understanding his relations to God, learns of his kinship with his brother—can he know what justice is or the measure thereof. If I were called upon to name the one thing which more than any other distinguishes the Christian religion from all other religions and moral codes, I would name forgiveness—Christ taught forgiveness, and, therefore, he could command his followers to love their enemies and to return good for evil.

The Chinese boast that they live up to the ideals of Confucius, but those ideals could be embodied in the life of a nation without lifting the nation to a high plane, and I believe that the philosophy of Confucius is largely responsible for the fact that China has stood still for twenty centuries. The people easily overtook the ideals of Confucius, and when a man overtakes his ideals his progress stops. It is the glory of the Christian ideal that while it is within sight of the weakest and the lowliest, it is yet so high that it keeps the best and noblest with their faces turned ever upward; and Christian civilization is the greatest that the world has ever known because it rests upon a conception of life that makes life an unending struggle upward, with no limit to human advancement or development.

If religions are to be measured by the results recorded in history, behold the greatness of Christianity! Except where they have borrowed from

the Christian nations the followers of Mohammed, the followers of Buddha and the followers of Confucius are practically where they were fifteen hundred or two thousand years go, while Christianity took the races of Europe when they were called barbarians and in ten centuries has enabled them to reach a civilization surpassing all the civilizations of the past.

How shall we show our gratitude for the blessings that Christianity has brought to us? We are largely indebted to it for the benefits which flow from universal education; who will measure its advantage to our nation? Christianity has strengthened the doctrine of self-government by teaching the claims of brotherhood; who will estimate the benefit which this nation has derived from the belief that all men are created equal? Christianity has given us a system of religion which leads us to the worship of a Creator; it has taught us a sense of responsibility to a personal God, and it has set before us a measure of greatness in which he is to be the chiefest among us who is the servant of all. What is it worth to us and to our children to be permitted to enjoy the triple blessings of universal education, free government and the Christion religion? We cannot repay the debt to those who gave us these things; they are dead. These blessings have come through generations of toil and sacrifice. We must make repayment to those about us and to those who come after us. We can make part payment by transmitting these institutions to posterity, not only unimpaired but improved; but we shall not discharge the debt entirely unless we

bring these institutions to the attention of others who know them not, and the foreign missionary field furnishes us one avenue through which to manifest our gratitude to God for the inestimable privileges of a citizenship to which Christianity has so largely contributed.

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V

FAITH

An address delivered at a number of colleges beginning in 1907.

FAITH exerts a controlling influence over our lives. If it is argued that works are more important than faith, I reply that faith comes first, works afterwards. Until one believes, he does not act, and in accordance with his faith, so will be his deeds.

Abraham, called of God, went forth in faith to establish a race and a religion. As a result of his faith a race has been produced not surpassed in its achievements by any other race in history, and as a result of his faith nearly four hundred millions of human beings are adherents of a monotheistic religion. It was faith that led Columbus to discover America, and faith again that conducted the early settlers to Jamestown, the Dutch to New York and the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock. Faith has led the pioneer across deserts and through trackless forests, and faith has brought others in his footsteps to lay in our land the foundations of a civilization the highest that the world has known.

I might draw an illustration from the life of each one of you. You have faith in education, and that faith is behind your study; you have faith in this institution, and that faith brought you here;

your parents and friends have had faith in you and have helped you to your present position. Without faith we are told it is impossible to please God, and I may add that without faith it is impossible to meet the expectations of those who are most interested in you. Let me present this subject under four heads:

First—You must have faith in yourselves. Not that you should carry confidence in yourselves to the point of displaying egotism, and yet, egotism is not the worst possible fault. My father was wont to say that if a man had the big head, you could whittle it down, but that if he had the little head, there was no hope for him. If you have the big head others will help you reduce it, but if you have the little head, they can not help you. You must believe that you can do things or you will not undertake them. Those who lack faith attempt nothing and therefore can not possibly succeed; those with great faith attempt the seemingly impossible and by attempting prove what man can do.

But you can not have faith in yourselves unless you are conscious that you are prepared for your work. If one is feeble in body, he can not have the confidence in his physical strength that the athlete has, and as physical strength is necessary one is justified in devoting to exercise and to the strengthening of the body such time as may be necessary.

Intellectual training is also necessary, and more necessary than it used to be. When but few had the advantages of a college education, the lack of such advantages was not so apparent. Now when so many of the lawyers, physicians, journalists, and

even business men, are college graduates, one can not afford to enter any field without the best possible intellectual preparation. When one comes into competition with his fellows, he soon recognizes his own intellectual superiority or inferiority as compared with others. In China they have a very interesting bird contest. The singing lark is the most popular bird there, and as you go along the streets of a Chinese city you see Chinamen out airing their birds. These singing larks are entered in contests, and the contests are decided by the birds themselves. If, for instance, a dozen are entered, they all begin to sing lustily, but as they sing, one after another recognizes that it is outclassed and gets down off of its perch, puts its head under its wing and will not sing any more. At last there is just one bird left singing, and it sings with an enthusiasm that shows that it recognizes its victory. So it is in all intellectual contests. Put twenty men in a room and let them discuss any important question. At first all will take part in the discussion, but as the discussion proceeds, one after another drops out until finally two are left in debate, one on one side and one on the other. The rest are content to have their ideas presented by those who can present them best. If you are going to have faith, therefore, in yourselves, you must be prepared to meet your competitiors upon an equal plane, and if you are prepared, they will be conscious of it as well as you.

A high purpose is also a necessary part of your preparation. You can not afford to put a low purpose in competition with a high one. If you go out

to work from a purely selfish standpoint, you will be ashamed to stand in the presence of those who have higher aims and nobler ambitions. Have faith in yourselves, but to have faith you must be prepared for your work, and this preparation must be moral and intellectual as well as physical.

Second—Have faith in mankind. The great fault of our scholarship is that it is not sufficiently sympathetic. It holds itself aloof from the struggling masses. It is too often cold and cynical. It is better to trust your fellowmen and be occasionally deceived than to be distrustful and live alone. Mankind deserves to be trusted. There is something good in every one, and that good responds to sympathy. If you speak to the multitude and they do not respond, do not despise them, but rather examine what you have said. If you speak from your heart, you will speak to their hearts, and they can tell very quickly whether you are interested in them or simply in yourself. The heart of mankind is sound; the sense of justice is universal. Trust it, appeal to it, do not violate it. People differ in race characteristics, in national traditions, in language, in ideas of government, and in forms of religion, but at heart they are very much alike. I fear the plutocracy of wealth; I respect the plutocracy of learning; I thank God for the democracy of the heart. You must love if you would be loved. "They loved Him because He first loved them"—this is the verdict pronounced where men have unselfishly labored for the welfare of the whole people. Link yourselves in sympathy with your fellowmen; mingle with them; know them and

you will trust them and they will trust you. If you are stronger than others, bear heavier loads; if you are more capable than others, show it by your willingness to perform a larger service.

Third—If you are going to accomplish anything in this country, you must have faith in our form of government, and there is every reason why you should have faith in it. It is the best form of government ever conceived by the mind of man, and it is spreading throughout the world. It is best, not because it is perfect, but because it can be made as perfect as the people deserve to have. It is a people's government, and it reflects the virtue and intelligence of the people. As the people make progress in virtue and in intelligence, the government ought to approach more and more nearly to perfection. It will never, of course, be entirely free from faults, because it must be administered by human beings, and imperfection is to be expected in the work of human hands.

Jefferson said a century ago that there were naturally two parties in every country, one which drew to itself those who trusted the people, the other which as naturally drew to itself those who distrusted the people. That was true when Jefferson said it, and it is true today. In every country there is a party which is seeking to enlarge the participation of the people in government, and that party is the growing party. In every country there is a party which is endeavoring to obstruct each step toward popular government, and it is the dying party. In this country the tendency is constantly toward more popular government,

and every effort which has for its object the bringing of the Government into closer touch with the people is sure of ultimate triumph.

Our form of government is good. Call it a democracy if you are a democrat, or a republic if you are a republican, but help to make it a government of the people, by the people and for the people. A democracy is wiser than an aristocracy because a democracy can draw from the wisdom of the people, and all of the people know more than any part of the people. A democracy is stronger than a monarchy because, as the historian, Bancroft, has said: "It dares to discard the implements of terror and build its citadel in the hearts of men." And a democracy is the most just form of government because it is built upon the doctrine that men are created equal, that governments are instituted to protect the inalienable rights of the people and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We know that a grain of wheat planted in the ground will, under the influence of the sunshine and rain, send forth a blade, and then a stalk, and then the full head, because there is behind the grain of wheat a force irresistible and constantly at work. There is behind moral and political truth a force equally irresistible and always operating, and just as we may expect the harvest in due season, we may be sure of the triumph of these eternal forces that make for man's uplifting. Have faith in your form of government, for it rests upon a growing idea, and if you will but attach yourself to that idea, you will grow with it.

But the subject presents itself in another aspect. You must not only have faith in yourselves, in humanity and in the form of government under which we live, but if you would do a great work, you must have faith in God. Do not call me a preacher, for I am but a layman; yet, I am not willing that the minister shall monopolize the blessings of Christianity, and I do not know of any moral precept binding upon the preacher behind the pulpit that is not binding upon the Christian whose acceptance would not be helpful to everyone. I am not speaking from the minister's standpoint but from the observation of every day life when I say that there is a wide difference between the desire to live so that men will applaud you and the desire to live so that God will be satisfied with you. Man needs the inner strength that comes from faith in God and belief in His constant presence.

Man needs faith in God, therefore, to strengthen him in his hours of trial, and he needs it to give him courage to do the work of life. How can one fight for a principle unless he believes in the triumph of the right? How can he believe in the triumph of the right if he does not believe that God stands back of the truth and that God is able to bring victory to truth? The man of faith, believing that every word spoken for truth will have its influence and that no blow struck for righteousness is struck in vain, fights on without asking whether he is to fall in the beginning of the battle or to live to join in the shouts of triumph. He knows not whether he is to live for the truth or to die for it, and if he has the faith

he ought to have, he is as ready to die for it as to live for it.

Faith will not only give you strength when you fight for righteousness, but your faith will bring dismay to your enemies. There is power in the presence of an honest man who does right because it is right and dares to do the right in the face of all opposition. It is true today, and has been true through all history that "One with God shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

If your preparation is complete so that you are conscious of your ability to do great things; if you have faith in your fellowmen and become a colaborer with them in the raising of the general level of society; if you have faith in our form of government and seek to purge it of its imperfections so as to make it more and more acceptable to our own people and to the opprest of other nations; and if, in addition, you have faith in God and in the triumph of the right, no one can set limits to your achievements. This is the greatest of all the ages in which to live. The railroads and the telegraph wires have brought the corners of the earth close together, and it is easier today for one to be helpful to the whole world than it was a few centuries ago to be helpful to the inhabitants of a single valley. This is the age of great opportunity and of great responsibility. Let your faith be large, and let this large faith inspire you to perform a large service.

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VI

THE PRICE OF A SOUL

Abstract of an address delivered, first at the Northwestern Law School Banquet in Chicago, then as a Commencement Oration at the Pierce School in Philadelphia and, in 1909, extended into a lecture.

THE fact that Christ dealt with this subject is proof conclusive that it is important, for He never dealt with trivial things. When Christ focused attention upon a theme it was because it was worthy of consideration—and Christ weighed the soul. He presented the subject, too, with surpassing force; no one will ever add emphasis to what He said. He understood the value of the question in argument. If you will examine the great orations delivered at crises in the world's history, you will find that in nearly every case the speaker condensed the whole subject into a question, and in that question embodied what he regarded as an unanswerable argument. Christ used the question to give force to the thought which he presented in regard to the soul's value.

On one side He put the world and all that the world can contain—all the wealth that one can accumulate, all the fame to which one can aspire, and all the happiness that one can covet; and on the other side he put the soul, and asked the question that has come ringing down the centuries:

"What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

There is no compromise here—no partial statement of the matter. He leaves us to write one term of the equation ourselves. He gives us all the time we desire, and allows the imagination to work to the limit, and when we have gathered together into one sum all things but the soul, He asks—What if you gain it all—*all*—ALL, and lose the soul? What is the profit?

Some have thought the soul question a question of the next world only, but it is a question of this world also; some have thought the soul question a Sabbath-day question only, but it is a week-day question as well; some have thought the soul question a question for the ministers alone, but it is a question which we all must meet. Every day and every week, every month and every year, from the time we reach the period of accountability until we die, we—each of us—all of us, weigh the soul; and just in proportion as we put the soul above all things else we build character; the moment we allow the soul to become a matter of merchandise, we start on the downward way.

Tolstoy says that if you would investigate the career of a criminal it is not sufficient to begin with the commission of a crime; that you must go back to that day in his life when he deliberately trampled upon his conscience and did that which he knew to be wrong. And so with all of us, the turning point in the life is the day when we surrender the soul for something that for the time being seems more desirable.

Most of the temptations that come to us to sell the soul come in connection with the getting of money. The Bible says, "The love of money is the root of all evil." If I had been making the statement, I think I would have said that the love of money is the root of *nearly* all evil. But that is probably due to the fact that I am so conservative in thought and in method of statement, that I prefer to leave a margin in the statement of a proposition, so that if anybody disputes it I can bring proof of more than I said. But the Bible says, "The love of money is the root of *all* evil," and I shall not attempt to weaken the statement. If it is a mistake at all it is so slight a mistake that we need not spend time in correcting it.

And because so many of our temptations come through the love of money and the desire to obtain it, it is worth while to consider the laws of accumulation. We must all have money; we need food and clothing and shelter, and money is necessary for the purchase of these things. Money is not an evil in itself—money is, in fact, a very useful servant. It is bad only when it becomes the master, and the love of it is hurtful only because it can, and often does, crowd out the love of nobler things.

But since we must all use money and must in our active days store up money for the days when our strength fails, let us see if we can agree upon the rules that should govern us in the accumulation of the money that we need. How much money can a man rightfully collect from society? Surely, there can be no disagreement here. He cannot rightfully collect more than he honestly earns. If a man col-

lect more than he honestly earns, he collects what somebody else has earned, and we call it stealing if a man takes that which belongs to another. Not only is a man limited in his collections of what he honestly earns, but no honest man will desire to collect more than he earns.

If a man cannot rightfully collect more than he honestly earns, it is, then, a matter of the utmost importance to know how much money a man can honestly earn. I venture an answer to this and say that a man cannot honestly earn more than fairly measures the service which he renders to society. I cannot conceive of any way of earning money except to give to society a service equivalent in value to the money collected. This is a fundamental proposition and it is important that it should be clearly understood, for if one desires to collect largely from society he must be prepared to render a large service to society; and our schools and colleges, our churches and all other organizations for the improvement of man have for one of their chief objects the enlargement of the capacity for service.

There is an apparent exception in the case of an inheritance, but it is not a real exception, for if the man who leaves the money has honestly earned it, he has already given society a service of equivalent value and, therefore, has a right to distribute it. And money received by inheritance is either payment for service already rendered, or payment in advance for service to be rendered. No right-minded person will accept money, even by inheritance, without recognizing the obligation it imposes to render a service in return. This service is not

always rendered to the one from whom this money is received, but often to society in general. In fact, most of the blessings which we receive come to us in such a way that we cannot distinguish the donors and must make our return to the whole public.

But I need not dwell upon this, because in this country more than anywhere else in the world we appreciate the dignity of labor and understand that it is honorable to serve. And yet there is room for improvement, for all over our land there are, scattered here and there, young men and young women —and even parents—who still think that it is more respectable for a young man to spend in idleness the money some one else has earned than to be himself a producer of wealth. And as long as this sentiment is to be found anywhere there is educational work to be done, for public opinion will never be what it ought to be until it puts the badge of disgrace upon the idler, no matter how rich he may be, rather than upon the man who with brain or muscle contributes to the Nation's wealth, the Nation's strength and the Nation's progress. But, as I said, the inheritance is an apparent, not an actual, exception, and we will return to the original proposition—that one's earnings must be measured by the service rendered. This is so important a proposition that I beg leave to dwell upon it a moment longer, to ask whether it is possible to fix in dollars and cents a maximum limit to the amount one can earn in a lifetime.

Let us begin with one hundred thousand dollars. If we estimate a working life at thirty-three years—

and I think this is a fair estimate—a man must earn a little more than three thousand dollars per year for thirty-three years to earn one hundred thousand dollars in a lifetime. I take it for granted that no one will deny that it is possible for one to earn this sum by rendering a service equal to it in value. What shall we say of a million dollars? Can a man earn that much? To do so he must earn a little more than thirty thousand dollars a year for thirty-three years. Is it possible for one to render so large a service? I believe that it is. Well, what shall we say of ten millions? To earn that much one must earn on an average a little more than three hundred thousand a year for thirty-three years. Is it possible for one to render a service so large as to earn so vast a sum? At the risk of shocking some of my radical friends I am going to affirm that it is possible. But can one earn a hundred million? Yes, I believe that it is even possible to serve society to such an extent as to earn a hundred million in the span of a human life, or an average of three million a year for thirty-three years. We have one man in this country who is said to be worth five hundred million. To earn five hundred million one must earn on an average fifteen million a year for thirty-three years. Is this within the range of human possibility? I believe that it is. Now, I have gone as high as any one has yet gone in collecting, but if there is any young man with an ambition to render a larger service to the world, I will raise it another notch, if necessary, to encourage him. So almost limitless are the possibilities of service in this age that I am not willing to

fix a maximum to the sum a man can honestly and legitimately earn.

Not only do I believe that a man can earn five hundred million, but I believe that men have earned it. I believe that Thomas Jefferson earned more than five hundred millions. The service that he rendered to the world was of such great value that had he collected for it five hundred millions of dollars, he would not have been overpaid. I believe that Abraham Lincoln earned more than five hundred millions, and I could go back through history and give you the name of man after man who rendered a service so large as to entitle him to collect more than five hundred million from society, but if I presented a list containing the name of every man, who, since time began, earned such an enormous sum, one thing would be true of all of them, namely: that in not a single case did the man collect the full amount. The men who have earned five million dollars have been so busy earning it that they have not had time to collect it; and the men who have collected five hundred million have been so busy collecting it that they have not had time to earn it.

Jefferson did not collect all he earned; in fact, he began public life well to do for a man of that period, and died poor—impoverished by visits of those who called to tell him how much they loved him and how much they appreciated his work. Lincoln did not collect the full amount; neither Jefferson nor Lincoln would have cared to collect five hundred million. What would either one have done with such a sum? Or, what is more important, what would

five hundred millions of dollars have done with Jefferson or Lincoln?

In that wonderful parable of the sower, Christ speaks of the seeds that fell and of the thorns that sprang up and choked them, and He himself explained what he meant by this illustration, namely: That the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth. If the great benefactors of the race had been burdened with the care of big fortunes, they could not have devoted themselves to the nobler things that gave them a place in the affection of their people and in history.

It seems, therefore, that while one cannot rightfully collect more than he honestly earns, he may earn more than it would be wise for him to collect. And that brings us to the next question: How much should one desire to collect from society? I answer, that no matter how large a service he may render or how much he may earn, one should not desire to collect more than he can wisely spend.

And how much can one wisely spend? Not as much as you might think, and not nearly as much as some have tried to spend. No matter how honestly money may be acquired, one is not free to spend it at will. We are hedged about by certain restrictions that we can neither remove nor ignore. God has written certain laws in our nature—laws that no legislature can repeal—laws that no court can declare unconstitutional, and these laws limit us in our expenditures.

Let us consider some of the things for which we can properly spend money. We need food—we all need food, and we need about the same amount; not

exactly, but the difference in quantity is not great. The range in expenditure is greater than the range in quantity, for expenditure covers kind and quality as well as quantity. But there is a limit even to expenditure. If a man eats too much he suffers for it. If he squanders his money on high-priced foods, he wears his stomach out. There is an old saying which we have all heard, that "The poor man is looking for food for his stomach, while the rich man is going from one watering place to another looking for a stomach for his food." This is only a witty way of expressing the sober truth, namely, that one is limited in the amount of money he can wisely spend for food.

We need clothing—we all need clothing, and we need the same amount. The difference in quantity is not great. The range in expenditure for clothing is greater than the range in quantity, because expenditure covers style and variety as well as quantity, but there is a limit to the amount of money one can wisely spend for clothing. If a man has so much clothing that it takes all of his time to change his clothes, he has more than he needs and more than he can wisely spend money for.

We need homes—we all need shelter and we need about the same amount. In fact, God was very democratic in the distribution of our needs, for he so created us that our needs are about the same. The range of expenditure for homes is probably wider than in the case of either food or clothing. We are interested in the home. I never pass a little house where two young people are starting out in life without feeling a sympathetic interest in that

home; I never pass a house where a room is being added without feeling interested, for I know the occupants have planned it, and looked forward to it and waited for it; I like to see a little house moved back and a larger house built, for I know it is the fulfillment of a dream. I have had some of these dreams myself, and I know how they lead us on and inspire us to larger effort and greater endeavor, and yet there is a limit to the amount one can wisely spend even for so good a thing as a home.

If a man gets too big a house it becomes a burden to him, and some have had this experience. Not infrequently a young couple will start out poor and struggle along in a little house, looking forward to the time when they can build a big house. After a while the time arrives and they build a big house, larger, possibly, than they intended to and it nearly always costs more than they thought they would, and then they struggle along the rest of their lives looking back to the time when they lived in a little house.

We speak of people being independently rich. That is a mistake; they are dependently rich. The richer a man is the more dependent he is—the more people he depends upon to help him collect his income, and the more people he depends upon to help him spend his income. Sometimes a couple will start out doing their own work—the wife doing the work inside the house and the man outside; but they prosper, and after a while they are able to afford help. They get a girl to help the wife inside and a man to help the husband outside; then they prosper more—and they get two girls to help inside

and two men to help outside, then three girls inside and three men outside. Finally they have so many girls helping inside and so many men helping outside that they cannot leave the house—they have to stay at home and look after the establishment. And this is not a new condition. One of the Latin poets complained of "the cares that hover about the fretted ceilings of the rich," and it was this condition that inspired Charles Wagner to write his little book entitled "The Simple Life," in which he entered an eloquent protest against the materialism which makes man the slave of his possessions and presented an earnest plea for the raising of the spiritual above the purely physical. I repeat, there is a limit to the amount a man can wisely spend upon a home.

But a man can give his money away. Yes, and no one who has ever tried it will deny that more pleasure is to be derived from the giving of money to a cause in which one's heart is interested, than can be obtained from the expenditure of the same amount in selfish indulgence. But if one is going to give largely he must spend a great deal of time in investigating and in comparing the merits of the different enterprises, and I am persuaded that there is a better life than the life led by those who spend nearly all the time accumulating beyond their needs and then employ the last few days in giving it away. What the world needs is not a few men of great wealth, doling out their money in anticipation of death—what the world needs is that these men should link themselves in sympathetic interest with struggling humanity and help to solve the

problems of today, instead of creating problems for the next generation to solve.

But you say, a man can leave his money to his children? He can, if he dares. But a large fortune, in anticipation, has ruined more sons than it has ever helped. If a young man has so much money coming to him that he knows he will never have to work, the chances are that it will sap his energy, even if it does not undermine his character, and leave him a curse rather than a blessing to those who brought him into the world. And it is scarcely safer to leave the money to a daughter. For if a young woman has a prospective inheritance so large that, when a young man calls upon her, she cannot tell whether he is calling upon her or her father, it is embarrassing—especially so if she finds after marriage that he married the wrong member of the family. And, I may add, that the daughters of the very rich are usually hedged about by a social environment which prevents their making the acquaintance of the best young men. The men who, twenty-five years from now, will be the leaders in business, in society, in government, and in the Church, are not the pampered sons of the rich, but the young men who, with good health and good habits, with high ideals and strong ambition, are, under the spur of necessity, laying the foundation for future achievements, and these young men do not have a chance to become acquainted with the daughters of the very rich. Even if they did know them they might hesitate to enter upon the scale of expenditure to which these daughters are accustomed.

I have spoken at length in regard to these limitations, altho we all know of them or ought to. The ministers tell us about these things Sunday after Sunday, or should, and yet we find men chasing the almighty dollar until they fall exhausted into the grave. A few years ago I read a sermon by Dr. Talmage on this subject; he said a man who wore himself out getting money that he did not need would finally drop dead, and that his pastor would tell a group of sorrowing friends that, by a mysterious dispensation of Providence, the good man had been cut off in his prime. Dr. Talmage said that Providence had nothing to do with it, and that the minister ought to tell the truth about it and say that the man had been kicked to death by the golden calf.

A few weeks ago I read a story by Tolstoy, and I did not notice until I had completed it that the title of the story was, "What shall it profit?" The great Russian graphically presented the very thought that I have been trying to impress upon your minds. He told of a Russian peasant who had land hunger—who added farm to farm and land to land, but could never get enough. After a while he heard of a place where land was cheaper and he sold his land and went and bought more land. But he had no more than settled there until he heard of another place among a half civilized people where land was cheaper still. He took a servant and went into this distant country and hunted up the head man of the tribe, who offered him all the land he could walk around in a day for a thousand rubles—told him he could put the

money down on any spot and walk in any direction as far and as fast as he would, and that if he was back by sunset he could have all the land he could encompass during the day. He put the money down upon the ground and started at sunrise to get, at last, enough land. He started leisurely, but as he looked upon the land it looked so good that he hurried a little—and then he hurried more, and then he went faster still. Before he turned he had gone further in that direction than he had intended, but he spurred himself on and started on the second side. Before he turned again the sun had crossed the meridian and he had two sides yet to cover. As the sun was slowly sinking in the west he constantly accelerated his pace, alarmed at last for fear he might have undertaken too much and might lose it all. He reached the starting point, however, just as the sun went down, but he had overtaxed his strength and fell dead upon the spot. Then his servant dug a grave for him and he only needed six feet of ground then, the same that others needed—and the rest of the land was of no use to him. Thus far Tolstoy told the story of many a life—not the life of the very rich only, but the story of every life in which the love of money is the controlling force and in which the desire for gain shrivels the soul and leaves the life a failure at last.

I desire to show you how practical this subject is. If time permitted I could take up every occupation, every avocation, every profession and every calling, and show you that no matter which way we turn—no matter what we do—we are always and everywhere weighing the Soul.

In the brief time that it is proper for me to occupy, I shall apply the thought to those departments of human activity in which the sale of a soul affects others largely as well as the individual who makes the bargain.

Take the occupation in which I am engaged, journalism. It presents a great field—a growing field; in fact, there are few fields so large. The journalist is both a news gatherer and a molder of thought. He informs his readers as to what is going on, and he points out the relation between cause and effect—interprets current history. Public opinion is the controlling force in a republic, and the newspaper gives to the journalist, beyond every one else, the opportunity to affect public opinion. Others reach his readers through the courtesy of the newspaper, but the owner of the paper has full access to his own columns, and does not fear the blue pencil. The journalist occupies the position of a watchman upon a tower. He is often able to see dangers which are not observed by the general public, and because he can see these dangers he is in a position of greater responsibility. Is he discharging the duty which superior opportunity imposes upon him? I might mention a number of temptations which come to the journalist, but I shall content myself with a few. First, there is the temptation to conceal the name of the real owner of the paper. The proprietor of a paper should be known, but his identity is not always disclosed. The corporate entity which plays so large a part in the business world has entered the newspaper field. The names of the stockholders

are not published and we do not always know what individuality directs the paper's policy. Year by year the disclosures are bringing to light the fact that the predatory interests are using the newspapers and even some magazines for the defense of commercial iniquity and for the purpose of attacking those who lift their voices against favoritism and privilege. A financial magnate interested in the exploitation of the public secures control of a paper; he employs business managers, managing editors, and a reportorial staff. He does not act openly or in the daylight but through a group of employes who are the visible but not the real directors. The reporters are instructed to bring in the kind of news which will advance the enterprises owned by the man who stands back of the paper, and if the news brought in is not entirely satisfactory it is doctored in the office. The columns of the paper are filled with matter, written not for the purpose of presenting facts as they exist, but for the purpose of distorting facts and misleading the public. The editorial writers, whose names are generally unknown to the public, are told what to say and what subjects to avoid. They are instructed to extol the merits of those who are subservient to the interests represented by the paper, and to misrepresent and traduce those who dare to criticise or oppose the plans of those who hide behind the paper. Such journalists are members of a kind of "Blackhand society"; they are assassins, hiding in ambush and striking in the dark; and the worst of it is that the readers have no way of knowing when a change takes place in the ownership of such a

paper. Editorial poison, like other poisons, can be administered more successfully if the victim is in ignorance as to who administers it.

There are degrees of culpability and some are disposed to hold an editorial writer guiltless even when they visit condemnation upon the secret director of the paper's policy. I present to you a different—and I believe higher—ideal of journalism. If we are going to make any progress in morals we must abandon the idea that morals are defined by the statutes; we must recognize that there is a wide margin between that which the law prohibits and that which an enlightened conscience can approve. We do not legislate against the man who uses the printed page for the purpose of deception but, viewed from the standpoint of morals, the man who, whether voluntarily or under instructions, writes what he knows to be untrue or purposely misleads his readers as to the character of a proposition upon which they have to act, is as guilty of wrong-doing as the man who assists in any other swindling transaction.

Another method employed to mislead the public is the publication of editorial matter supplied by those who have an interest to serve. This evil is even more common than secrecy as to the ownership of the paper. In the case of the weekly papers and the smaller dailies, the proprietor is generally known, and it is understood that the editorial pages represent his views. His standing and character give weight to that which appears with his endorsement. A few years ago, when the railroad rate bill was before Congress, a number of railroads

joined in an effort to create a public sentiment against the bill. Bureaus were established for the dissemination of literature, and a number of newspapers entered into contract to publish as editorial matter the material furnished by these bureaus. This can not be defended in ethics. The purchase of the editorial columns is a crime against the public and a disgrace to journalism, and yet we have frequent occasion to note this degradation of the newspaper. A few days ago Senator Carter, of Montana, speaking in the United States Senate, read several printed slips which were sent out by a bankers' association to local bankers with the request that they be inserted in the local papers, suggestion being made that the instructions to the local bankers be removed before they were handed to the papers. The purpose of the bankers' association was to stimulate opposition to the postal savings bank, a policy endorsed affirmatively by the Republican party and, conditionally, by the Democratic party, the two platforms being supported at the polls by more than ninety per cent. of the voters. The bankers' associations are opposing the policy, and, in sending out its literature, they are endeavoring to conceal the source of that literature and to make it appear that the printed matter represents the opinion of some one in the community.

The journalist who would fully perform his duty must be not only incorruptible, but ever alert, for those who are trying to misuse the newspapers are able to deceive "the very elect." Whenever any movement is on foot for the securing of legislation desired by the predatory interests, or when restrain-

ing legislation is threatened, news bureaus are established at Washington, and these news bureaus furnish to such papers as will use them, free reports, daily or weekly as the case may be, from the national capital—reports which purport to give general news, but which in fact contain arguments in support of the schemes which the bureaus are organized to advance. This ingenious method of misleading the public is only a part of the general plan which favor-holding and favor-seeking corporations pursue.

Demosthenes declared that the man who refuses a bribe conquers the man who offers it. According to this, the journalist who resists the many temptations which come to him to surrender his ideals has the consciousness of winning a moral victory as well as the satisfaction of knowing that he is rendering a real service to his fellows.

The profession for which I was trained—the law—presents another line of temptations. The court-room is a soul's market where many barter away their ideals in the hope of winning wealth or fame. Lawyers sometimes boast of the number of men whose acquittal they have secured when they knew them to be guilty, and of advantages won which they knew their clients did not deserve. I do not understand how a lawyer can so boast, for he is an officer of the court and, as such, is sworn to assist in the administration of justice. When a lawyer has helped his client to obtain all that his client is entitled to, he has done his full duty as a lawyer, and if he goes beyond this, he goes at his own peril. Show me a lawyer who has spent a lifetime trying

to obscure the line between right and wrong, trying to prove that to be just which he knew to be unjust, and I will show you a man who has grown weaker in character year by year, and whose advice, at last, will be of no value to his clients, for he will have lost the power to discern between right and wrong. Show me, on the other hand, a lawyer who has spent a lifetime in the search for truth, determined to follow where it leads, and I will show you a man who has grown stronger in character day by day and whose advice constantly becomes more valuable to his client, because the power to discern the truth increases with the honest search for it.

Not only in the court room, but in the consultation chamber the lawyer sometimes yields to the temptation to turn his talents to a sordid use. The schemes of spoliation that defy the officers of the law are, for the most part, inaugurated and directed by legal minds. President Roosevelt, speaking at Harvard a few years ago, complained that the graduates of that great university frequently furnished the brains for conspiracies against the public welfare. I was speaking on this very subject in one of the great cities of the country some months ago, and at the close of the address, a judge commended my criticism and declared that most of the lawyers practicing in his court were constantly selling their souls. The lawyer's position is scarcely less responsible than the position of the journalist, and if the journalists and lawyers of the country could be brought to abstain from the practices by which the general public is overreached, it would

be an easy matter to secure the remedial legislation necessary to protect the producing masses from the constant spoliation to which they are now subjected by the privileged classes.

If a man who is planning a train-robbery takes another along to hold a horse at a convenient distance, we say that the man who holds the horse is equally guilty with the man who robs the train; and the time will come when public opinion will hold as equally guilty with the plunderers of society the lawyers and journalists who assist the plunderers to escape.

Most of you, I presume, will engage in what is known as business, although I confess that I have no sympathy with the narrow definition which is often given to the word business. Every person who contributes by brain or muscle to the nation's wealth and greatness is engaged in business and is a necessary factor in the world's progress.

Commerce is an increasing factor in the business world. It includes both exchange and transportation and stands next in importance to production. Production comes first, but production could only be carried on on a limited scale without the exchange of merchandise. To desire to gain an honorable distinction in this department of labor is a worthy ambition. He who improves the instruments of trade brings purchaser and consumer nearer together, and thus facilitates exchange, may count himself a real benefactor. But even here there are temptations to be avoided. Let me suggest three. First, speculation. I do not mean to say that the element of chance can be entirely elim-

inated from any kind of business. The farmer take his chances upon the seasons; the merchant takes his chance upon the market; the railroad owner takes his chances upon both the season and the market; and we all take our chances upon sickness and death. Uncertainty enters into every human calculation, but a distinction can be drawn between those uncertainties which are unavoidable and those uncertainties which are of the very essence of the transaction. There is a legitimate work for the stock exchange and for the chamber of commerce, but there is an illegitimate and vicious speculation on the stock exchange and the produce market which has lured many business men to their fall. The ordinary methods of accumulation are necessarily slow when competition is left free to regulate profits, while the gambler is spurred on by the hope of quickly realizing a large profit upon a small investment. It is not strange that many are charmed by the siren song of the stock ticker, but it means ruin, and to the extent that a man yields to the temptation his morals are weakened. There is but one sure measure of rewards, viz., one that compensates each in proportion as he serves society. The securing of something for nothing by a lucky turn of a card, or by a sudden change in the market paralyzes one's purpose, and, in time, renders him unfit for patient and persistent effort. I might emphasize the fact that gambling in stocks and farm products often leads to embezzlement, larceny and suicide, for these are the fruits of speculation when it becomes a disease. But I prefer to put my argument against gambling upon the

broader ground that it is, in all cases, a demoralizing influence, whether the gambler wins or loses.

I might dwell upon the evil effects of speculation upon innocent parties whose property is juggled up or juggled down by the manipulations of the market, but I would appeal, not only to the innocent outsider, but to those who may be tempted by the profits promised to the inside ring. I would suggest, however, that those who by cornering the market suspend the law of supply and demand, add crime to vice and defraud those who are induced to invest in a "chance" which has no actual existence.

Monopoly is the second commercial temptation. Monopolies have been attempted ever since trading began, and they are more common today than ever before because more money can be made out of them. Many well-meaning business men permit themselves to be drawn into practises which are not only indefensible in the realm of conscience, but which violate the statutes. The officers of the law are constantly engaged in an effort to prevent the monopolizing of trade.

It is strange that anyone should attempt to defend a private monopoly, for its plan and operation can be easily understood by any one who knows either human nature or history. No judge would be permitted to preside in his own case; no juror would be allowed to serve in a suit to which he was a party, and yet the head of a monopoly arbitrarily decides every day questions where his interests are on one side and public interests on the other. Can he be trusted to decide impartially and to exact only

a reasonable profit? It is absurd to expect him to do justice to those with whom he deals. The student of history knows that the monopolist has always been an outlaw. Three centuries ago, under Queen Elizabeth, the House of Commons protested against the monopolies which she had authorized, and I found, when in the Holy Land, that a very complete monopoly existed there some seventeen hundred years ago. Josephus tells how John of Gishala secured a monopoly in olive oil and charged ten times as much for the oil as he paid for it. For the benefit of those who think that all monopolies are traceable to the rebate, I venture to suggest that the oil trust of Palestine was successfully operated before railroads existed. But even though John had nothing better than a fast freight line of donkeys and distributed the oil in goat skins, he showed as correct an understanding of the possibilities of monopoly as any trust magnate has today, and I have wondered whether our John secured his idea of an oil trust from John of Gishala.

We need laws making the private monopoly impossible, but we must have back of these laws a moral sentiment which will condemn the club wielded by the monopolist, as moral sentiment now condemns the highwayman's bludgeon.

The third temptation to which the commercial man is subjected is the corruption of politics. Just in proportion as a corporation secures a monopoly of the business in which it is engaged, in that proportion the necessity for government regulation increases, and I may add, the difficulty of securing regulation increases in proportion to the necessity

for it. Municipal corruption has become a byword, and the lobbyist has made his evil presence felt at the national and State capitals. Bribery is becoming a fine art, and neither the voter nor his representative is spared. The one lesson that must be taught is that the man who gives a bribe is as wicked as the man who accepts it—I am not sure but that he is more wicked, for the necessities of the man who accepts the bribe—if need can palliate such an offense—are usually greater than those of the man who offers it. I appeal to you to assist, in every possible way, in the creation of a public sentiment which will ostracise the business man who purchases legislation with the profits derived from privileges already secured, or who advances corruption money in anticipation of the profits which governmental favors promise.

In the counting room as well as in the editor's library and in the lawyer's office one hears the heart-searching question: "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"—and happiness, honor and usefulness all hang upon the answer.

I would not be forgiven if I failed to apply my theme to the work of the instructor. The purpose of education is not merely to develop the mind; it is to prepare men and women for society's work and for citizenship. The ideals of the teacher, therefore, are of the first importance. The pupil is apt to be as much influenced by what his teacher is as by what the teacher says or does. The measure of a school can not be gathered from an inspection of the examination papers; the conception of life

which the graduate carries away must be counted in estimating the benefits conferred. The pecuniary rewards of the teacher are usually small when compared with the rewards of business. This may be due in part to our failure to properly appreciate the work which the teacher does, but it may be partially accounted for by the fact that the teacher derives from his work a satisfaction greater than that obtained from most other employments.

The teacher comes into contact with the life of the student and, as our greatest joy is derived from the consciousness of having benefited others, the teacher rightly counts as a part of his compensation the continuing pleasure to be found in the knowledge that he is projecting his influence through future generations. The heart plays as large a part as the head in the teacher's work, because the heart is an important factor in every life and in the shaping of the destiny of the race. I fear the plutocracy of wealth; I respect the aristocracy of learning; but I thank God for the democracy of the heart. It is upon the heart-level that we meet; it is by the characteristics of the heart that we best know and best remember each other. Astronomers tell us the distance of each star from the earth, but no mathematician can calculate the influence which a noble teacher may exert upon posterity. And yet even the teacher may fall from his high estate, and, forgetting his immeasurable responsibility, yield to the temptation to estimate his work by its pecuniary reward.

Let me turn for a moment from the profession

and the occupation to the calling. I am sure I shall not be accused of departing from the truth when I say that even those who minister to our spiritual wants and, as our religious leaders, help to fix our standards of morality, sometimes prove unfaithful to their trust. They are human, and the frailities of man obscure the light which shines from within, even when that light is a reflection from the throne of God. The ministers have for years considered the liquor question a moral question, and I would not chide them for their activity; but I think too little emphasis has been placed upon the importance of total abstinence. Whether a Christian can drink in moderation without harm to himself is purely a physical question, and some Christians have overestimated their ability to confine their drinking within safe limits; but there is a moral question which is much larger, namely, can a Christian afford to indulge the appetite for drink if his example leads weaker men to ruin?

The great apostle said that, if eating meat made his brother to offend, he would eat no meat. It is a part of the minister's work to cultivate such a love of brother in the Christian heart that the Christian will paraphrase the language of the apostle and say: If drinking maketh my brother to offend, I shall not drink.

Then, too, we have not sufficiently considered man's social needs. Man must have communion with his friends, and we have left the saloon to furnish about the only meeting place in the cities and towns. Rooms should be opened where men can meet with wholesome surroundings and free

from the temptations that are ever present where men meet in a room provided by one who has a pecuniary interest in cultivating an appetite for drink.

The ministers must deal with all questions that involve morals, and every great question is in its final analysis a question of ethics.

We need more Elijahs in the pulpit today—more men who will dare to upbraid an Ahab and defy a Jezebel. It is possible, aye, probable, that even now, as of old, persecution would follow such boldness of speech, but he who consecrates himself to religion must smite evil wherever he finds it, altho in smiting it he may risk his salary and his social position. It is easy enough to denounce the petty thief and the back-alley gambler; it is easy enough to condemn the friendless rogue and the penniless wrong-doer, but what about the rich tax-dodger, the big law-breaker and the corrupter of government? The soul that is warmed by divine fire will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete performance of duty; it must cry aloud and spare not, to the end that the creed of the Christ may be exemplified in the life of the nation.

Not only does the soul question present itself to individuals, but it presents itself to groups of individuals as well.

Let us consider the party. A political party can not be better than its ideal; in fact, it is good in proportion as its ideal is worthy, and its place in history is determined by its adherence to a high purpose. The party is made for its members, not the members for the party; and a party is useful,

therefore, only as it is a means through which one may protect his rights, guard his interests and promote the public welfare. The best service that a man can render his party is to raise its ideals. He basely betrays his party's hopes and is recreant to his duty to his party associates who seeks to barter away a noble party purpose for temporary advantages or for the spoils of office. It would be a reflection upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people to assert, or even to assume, that lasting benefit could be secured for a party by the lowering of its standards. He serves his party most loyally who serves his country most faithfully; it is a fatal error to suppose that a party can be permanently benefited by a betrayal of the nation's interests.

In every act of party life and party strife we weigh the soul. That the people have a right to have what they want is a fundamental principle in free government. Corruption in government comes from the attempt to substitute the will of a minority for the will of the majority. Every measure which comes up for consideration involves justice and injustice—right and wrong—and is, therefore, a question of conscience. As justice is the basis of a nation's strength and gives it hope of perpetuity, and, as the seeds of decay are sown whenever injustice enters into government, patriotism as well as conscience leads us to analyze every public question, ascertain the moral principle involved and then cast our influence, whether it be great or small, on the side of justice.

The patriot must desire the triumph of that

which is right above the triumph of that which he may think to be right if he is, in fact, mistaken; and so the partizan, if he be an intelligent partizan, must be prepared to rejoice in his party's defeat if by that defeat his country is the gainer. One can afford to be in a minority, but he cannot afford to be wrong; if he is in a minority and right, he will some day be in the majority.

The activities of politics center about the election of candidates to office, and the official, under our system, represents both the party to which he belongs and the whole body of his constituency. He has two temptations to withstand, first, the temptation to substitute his own judgment for the judgment of his constituents, and second, the temptation to put his pecuniary interests above the interests of those for whom he acts. According to the aristocratic idea, the representative thinks *for* his constituents; according to the Democratic idea, the representative thinks *with* his constituents. A representative has no right to defeat the wishes of those who elect him, if he knows their wishes.

But a representative is not liable to knowingly misrepresent his constituents unless he has pecuniary interests adverse to theirs. This is the temptation to be resisted—this is the sin to be avoided. The official who uses his position to secure a pecuniary advantage at the expense of those for whom he acts is an embezzler of power—and an embezzler of power is as guilty of moral turpitude as the embezzler of money. There is no better motto for the public official than that given by Solomon: "A good name is rather to be chosen than great

riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold." And there is no better rule for the public official to follow than this—to do nothing that he would not be willing to have printed in the newspaper next day.

One who exercises authority conferred upon him by the suffrages of his fellows ought to be fortified in his integrity by the consciousness of the fact that a betrayal of his trust is hurtful to the party which honors him and unjust to the people whom he serves, as well as injurious to himself. Nothing that he can gain, not even the whole world, can compensate him for the loss that he suffers in the surrender of a high ideal of public duty.

Permit me, in conclusion, to say that the nation, as well as the individual and the party, must be measured by its purpose, its ideals and its service. "Let him who would be chiefest among you, be the servant of all," was intended for nations as well as for citizens. Our nation is the greatest in the world and the greatest of all time, because it is rendering a larger service than any other nation is rendering or has rendered. It is giving the world ideals in education, in social life, in government and in religion. It is the teacher of nations, it is the world's torch-bearer. Here the people are more free than elsewhere to "try all things and hold fast that which is good;" "to know the truth" and to find freedom in that knowledge. No material considerations should blind us to our nation's mission, or turn us aside from the accomplishment of the great work which has been reserved for us. Our fields bring forth abundantly and the products

of our farms furnish food for many in the Old World. Our mills and looms supply an increasing export, but these are not our greatest asset. Our most fertile soil is to be found in the minds and the hearts of our people, and our most important manufacturing plants are not our factories, with their smoking chimneys, but our schools, our colleges and our churches, which take in a priceless raw material and turn out the most valuable finished product that the world has known.

We enjoy by inheritance, or by choice, the blessings of American citizenship; let us not be unmindful of the obligations which these blessings impose. Let us not become so occupied in the struggle for wealth or in the contest for honors as to repudiate the debt that we owe to those who have gone before us and to those who bear with us the responsibilities that rest upon the present generation. Society has claims upon us; our country makes demands upon our time, our thought and our purpose. We cannot shirk these duties without disgrace to ourselves and injury to those who come after us. If one is tempted to complain of the burdens borne by American citizens, let him compare them with the much larger burdens imposed by despots upon their subjects.

I challenge the doctrine, now being taught, that we must enter into a mad rivalry with the Old World in the building of battleships—the doctrine that the only way to preserve peace is to get ready for wars that ought never to come! It is a barbarous, brutal, unchristian doctrine—the doctrine of the darkness, not the doctrine of the dawn.

Nation after nation, when at the zenith of its power, has proclaimed itself invincible because its army could shake the earth with its tread and its ships could fill the seas, but these nations are dead, and we must build upon a different foundation if we would avoid their fate.

Carlyle, in the closing chapters of his "French Revolution" says that thought is stronger than artillery parks and at least molds the world like soft clay, and then he adds that back of thought is love. Carlyle is right. Love is the greatest power in the world. The nations that are dead boasted that their flag was feared; let it be our boast that our flag is loved. The nations that are dead boasted that people bowed before their flag, let us not be content until our flag represents sentiments so high and holy that the opprest of every land will turn their faces toward that flag and thank God that there is one flag that stands for self-government and for the rights of man.

The enlightened conscience of our nation should proclaim as the country's creed that "righteousness exalteth a nation" and that justice is a nation's surest defense. If there ever was a nation it is ours; if there ever was a time it is now, to put God's truth to the test. With an ocean rolling on either side and a mountain range along either coast that all the armies of the world could never climb we ought not to be afraid to trust in "the wisdom of doing right."

Our government, conceived in liberty and purchased with blood, can be preserved only by constant vigilance. May we guard it as our children's

richest legacy, for what shall it profit our nation if it shall gain the whole world and loss "the spirit that prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere?"

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MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

I

CHARACTER

Graduating oration and valedictory, delivered at the commencement of Illinois College, in June, 1881.

IT is said of the ermine that it will suffer capture rather than allow pollution to touch its glossy coat, but take away that coat and the animal is worthless.

We have ermines in higher life—those who love display. The desire to seem, rather than to be, is one of the faults which our age, as well as other ages, must deplore.

Appearance too often takes the place of reality—the stamp of the coin is there, and the glitter of the gold, but, after all, it is but a worthless wash. Sham is carried into every department of life, and we are being corrupted by show and surface. We are too apt to judge people by what they have, rather than by what they are; we have too few Hamlets who are bold enough to proclaim, "I know not 'seems.'"

The counterfeit, however, only proves the value of the coin, and, altho reputation may in some degree be taking the place of character, yet the latter has lost none of its worth, and, now, as of old, is a priceless gem, wherever found. Its absence and presence, alike, prove its value. Have you not conversed with those whose brilliant wit, pungent

sarcasm and well-framed sentences failed to conceal a certain indescribable something which made you distrust every word they uttered? Have you not listened to those whose eloquence dazzled, whose pretended earnestness enkindled in you an enthusiasm equal to their own, and yet, have you not felt that behind all this there was lurking a monster that repelled the admiration which their genius attracted? Are there not those, whom like the Greeks we fear, even when they are bringing gifts? That something is want of character, or, to speak more truly, the possession of bad character, and it shows itself alike in nations and individuals.

Eschines was talented; his oration against the crowning of Demosthenes was a masterly production, excellently arranged, elegantly written and effectively delivered; so extraordinary was its merits, that, when he afterward, as an exile, delivered it before a Rhodian audience, they exprest their astonishment that it had not won for him his cause, but it fell like a chilling blast upon his hearers at Athens, because he was the "hireling of Philip."

Napoleon swept like a destroying angel over almost the entire eastern world, evincing a military genius unsurpassed, skill marvelous in its perfection, and a courage which savored almost of rashness, yet ever demonstrated the wisdom of its dictates. For a while he seemed to have robbed fortune of her secret, and bewildered nations gazed in silence while he turned the streams of success according to his vacillating whims.

Altho endowed with a perception keen enough to discern the hidden plans of opposing generals, he

could but see one road to immortality—a path which led through battlefields and marshes wet with human gore; over rivers of blood and streams of tears that flowed from orphans' eyes—a path along whose length the widow's wail made music for his marching hosts. But he is fallen, and over his tomb no mourner weeps. Talent, genius, power, these he had—character, he had none.

But there are those who have both influence through life and unending praises after death; there are those who have by their ability inspired the admiration of the people and held it by the purity of their character. It is often remarked that some men have a name greater than their works will justify; the secret lies in the men themselves.

It was the well-known character of Demosthenes, not less than his eloquent words; his deep convictions, not less than the fire of his utterance; his own patriotism, not less than his invectives against the Macedonian that brought to the lips of the reanimated Greeks that memorable sentence, "Let us go against Philip."

Perhaps we could not find better illustrations of the power and worth of character than are presented in the lives of two of our own countrymen—names about which cluster in most sacred nearness the affections of the American people—honored dust over which have fallen the truest tears of sorrow ever shed by a nation for its heroes—the father and savior of their common country—the one, the appointed guardian of its birth; the other, the preserver of its life.

Both were reared by the hand of Providence for the work entrusted to their care, both were led by nature along the rugged path of poverty; both formed a character whose foundations were laid broad and deep in the purest truths of morality—a character which stood unshaken amid the terrors of war and the tranquility of peace; a character which allowed neither cowardice upon the battle-field nor tyranny in the presidential chair. Thus did they win the hearts of their countrymen and prepare for themselves a lasting place of rest in the tender memories of a grateful people.

History but voices our own experience when it awards to true nobility of character the highest place among the enviable possessions of man.

Nor is it the gift of fortune. In this, at least, we are not creatures of circumstance; talent, special genius may be the gift of nature; position in society the gift of birth; respect may be bought with wealth; but neither one nor all of these can give character. It is a slow but sure growth to which every thought and action lends its aid. To form character is to form grooves in which are to flow the purposes of our lives. It is to adopt principles which are to be the measure of our actions, the criteria of our deeds. This we are doing each day, either consciously or unconsciously. There is character formed by our association with each friend, by every aspiration of the heart, by every object toward which our affections go out, yea, by every thought that flies on its lightning wing through the dark recesses of the brain.

It is a law of mind that it acts most readily in

familiar paths, hence, repetition forms habit, and almost before we are aware, we are chained to a certain routine of action from which it is difficult to free ourselves. We imitate that which we admire. If we revel in stories of blood, and are pleased with the sight of barbaric cruelty, we find it easy to become a Caligula or a Domitian; we picture to ourselves scenes of cruelty in which we are actors, and soon await only the opportunity to vie in atrocity with the Neroes of the past.

If we delight in gossip, and are not content unless each neighbor is laid upon the dissecting table, we form a character unenviable indeed, and must be willing to bear the contempt of all the truly good, while we roll our bit of scandal as a sweet morsel under the tongue.

But if each day we gather some new truths, plant ourselves more firmly upon principles which are eternal, guard every thought and action, that it may be pure, and conform our lives more nearly to that Perfect Model, we shall form a character that will be a fit background on which to paint the noblest deeds and the grandest intellectual and moral achievements; a character that cannot be concealed, but which will bring success in this life and form the best preparation for that which is beyond.

The formation of character is a work which continues through life, but at no time is it so active as in youth and early manhood. At this time impressions are most easily made, and mistakes most easily corrected. It is the season for the sowing of the seed—the springtime of life. There is no com-

plaint in the natural world because each fruit and herb brings forth after its kind; there is no complaint if a neglected seed-time brings a harvest of want; there is no cry of injustice if thistles spring from thistle-seed sown. As little reason have we to murmur if in after-life we discover a character dwarfed and deformed by the evil thoughts and actions of today; as little reason have we to impeach the wisdom of God if our wild oats, as they are called in palliation, leave scars upon our manhood, which years of reform fail to wear away.

Character is the entity, the individuality, of the person, shining from every window of the soul, either as a beam of purity, or as a clouded ray that betrays the impurity within. The contest between light and darkness, right and wrong, goes on; day by day, hour by hour, moment by moment, our characters are being formed, and this is the all-important question which comes to us in accents ever growing fainter as we journey from the cradle to the grave, "Shall those characters be good or bad?"

Beloved instructors, it is character not less than intellect that you have striven to develop. As we stand at the end of our college course, and turn our eyes toward the scenes forever past—as our memories linger on the words of wisdom which have fallen from your lips, we are more and more deeply imprest with the true conception of duty which you have ever shown. You have sought not to trim the lamp of genius until the light of morality is paled by its dazzling brilliance, but to encourage and strengthen both. These days are over. No

longer shall we listen to your warning voices, no more meet you in these familiar class-rooms, yet on our hearts "deeply has sunk the lesson" you have given, "and shall not soon depart."

We thank you for your kind and watchful care, and shall ever cherish your teachings with that devotion which sincere gratitude inspires.

It is fitting that we express to you also, honored trustees, our gratitude for the privileges which you have permitted us to enjoy.

The name of the institution whose interests you guard will ever be dear to us as the school-room, to whose influence we shall trace whatever success coming years may bring.

Dear class-mates, my lips refuse to bid you a last good-by; we have so long been joined together in a community of aims and interests; so often met and mingled our thoughts in confidential friendship; so often planned and worked together, that it seems like rending asunder the very tissues of the heart to separate us now.

But this long and happy association is at an end, and now as we go forth in sorrow, as each one must, to begin alone the work which lies before us, let us encourage each other with strengthening words.

Success is brought by continued labor and continued watchfulness. We must struggle on, not for one moment hesitate, nor take one backward step; for in language of the poet—

> The gates of hell are open night and day,
> Smooth the descent and easy is the way;
> But to return and view the cheerful sky,
> In this, the task and mighty labor lie.

We launch our vessels upon the uncertain sea of life alone, yet, not alone, for around us are friends who anxiously and prayerfully watch our course. They will rejoice if we arrive safely at our respective havens, or weep with bitter tears, if, one by one, our weather-beaten barks are lost forever in the surges of the deep.

We have esteemed each other, loved each other, and now must from each other part. God grant that we may all so live as to meet in the better world, where parting is unknown.

Halls of learning, fond Alma Mater, farewell. We turn to take one "last, long, lingering look" at thy receding walls. We leave thee now to be ushered out into the varied duties of active life.

However high our names may be inscribed upon the gilded scroll of fame, to thee we all the honor give, to thee all praises bring. And when, in after years, we're wearied by the bustle of a busy world, our hearts will often long to turn and seek repose beneath thy sheltering shade.

II

GRAY'S ELEGY

Delivered in 1890 in presenting a copy of Gray's Elegy to the opposing candidates for Congress at the close of a series of debates.

MR. CONNELL: We now bring to a close this series of debates which was arranged by our committees. I am glad that we have been able to conduct these discussions in a courteous and friendly manner. If I have, in any way, offended you in word or deed I offer apology and regret, and as freely forgive. I desire to present to you in remembrance of these pleasant meetings this little volume, because it contains "Gray's Elegy," in perusing which I trust you will find as much pleasure and profit as I have found. It is one of the most beautiful and touching tributes to humble life that literature contains. Grand in its sentiment and sublime in its simplicity, we may both find in it a solace in victory or defeat. If success should crown your efforts in this campaign, and it should be your lot "Th' applause of list'ning senates to command," and I am left

A youth to fortune and to fame unknown,

Forget not us who in the common walks of life perform our part, but in the hour of your triumph recall the verse:

Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.

If, on the other hand, by the verdict of my countrymen, I shall be made your successor, let it not be said of you:

And melancholy marked him for her own,

But find sweet consolation in the thought:

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

But whether the palm of victory is given to you or to me, let us remember those of whom the poet says:

Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learn'd to stray;
Along the cool sequester'd vale of life
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.

These are the ones most likely to be forgotten by the Government. When the poor and weak cry out for relief they, too, often hear no answer but "the echo of their cry," while the rich, the strong, the powerful are given an attentive ear. For this reason is class legislation dangerous and deadly. It takes from those least able to lose and gives to those who are least in need. The safety of our farmers and our laborers is not in special legislation, but in equal and just laws that bear alike on every man. The great masses of our people are interested, not in getting their hands into other people's pockets, but in keeping the hands of other

people out of their pockets. Let me, in parting, express the hope that you and I may be instrumental in bringing our Government back to better laws which will give equal treatment without regard to creed or condition. I bid you a friendly farewell.

III

MEMORIAL DAY AT ARLINGTON

Delivered in Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C., on Decoration Day, May 30, 1894.

WITH flowers in our hands and sadness in our hearts we stand amid the tombs where the nation's dead are sleeping. It is appropriate that the Chief Executive is here, accompanied by his Cabinet; it is appropriate that the soldier's widow is here, and the soldier's son; it is appropriate that here are assembled, in numbers growing less each year, the scarred survivors, Federal and Confederate, of our last great war; it is appropriate, also, that these exercises in honor of comrades dead should be conducted by comrades still surviving. All too soon the day will come when these graves must be decorated by hands unused to implements of war, and when these speeches must be made by lips that never answered to a roll call.

We, who are of the aftermath, cannot look upon the flag with the same emotions that thrill you who have followed it as your pillar of cloud by day and your pillar of fire by night, nor can we appreciate it as you can who have seen it waving in front of reinforcements when succor meant escape from death; neither can we, standing by these blossom-covered mounds, feel as you have often felt when far away from home and on hostile soil you have laid your

companions to rest; but from a new generation we can bring you the welcome assurance that the commemoration of this day will not depart with you. We may neglect the places where the nation's greatest victories have been won, but we cannot forget the Arlingtons which the nation has consecrated with its tears.

To ourselves as well as to the dead we owe the duty which we discharge here, for monuments and memorial days declare the patriotism of the living no less than the virtues of those whom they commemorate.

We would be blind indeed to our own interests and to the welfare of posterity if we were deaf to the just demands of the soldier and his dependents. We are grateful for the services rendered by our defenders, whether illustrious or nameless, and yet a nation's gratitude is not entirely unselfish, since by our regard for the dead we add to the security of the living; by our remembrance of those who have suffered we give inspiration to those upon whose valor we must hereafter rely, and prove ourselves worthy of the sacrifices which have been made and which may be again required.

The essence of patriotism lies in a willingness to sacrifice for one's country, just as true greatness finds expression, not in blessings enjoyed, but in good bestowed. Read the words inscribed on the monuments reared by loving hands to the heroes of the past; they do not speak of wealth inherited, or honors bought or of hours in leisure spent, but of service done. Twenty years, forty years, a life or life's most precious blood he yielded up for the

welfare of his fellows—this is the simple story which proves that it is now, and ever has been, more blessed to give than to receive.

The officer was a patriot when he gave his ability to his country and risked his name and fame upon the fortunes of war; the private soldier was a patriot when he took his place in the ranks and offered his body as a bulwark to protect the flag; the wife was a patriot when she bade her husband farewell and gathered about her the little brood over which she must exercise both a mother's and a father's care; and, if there can be degrees in patriotism, the mother stood first among the patriots when she gave to the nation her sons, the divinely appointed support of her declining years, and as she brushed the tears away thanked God that he had given her the strength to rear strong and courageous sons for the battlefield.

To us who were born too late to prove upon the battlefield our courage and our loyalty it is gratifying to know that opportunity will not be wanting to show our love of country. In a nation like ours, where the Government is founded upon the principle of equality and derives its just powers from the consent of the governed; in a land like ours, I say, where every citizen is a sovereign and where no one cares to wear a crown, every year presents a battlefield and every day brings forth occasion for the display of patriotism.

And on this memorial day we shall fall short of our duty if we content ourselves with praising the dead or complimenting the living and fail to make preparations for those responsibilities which pres-

ent times and present conditions impose upon us. We can find instruction in that incomparable address delivered by Abraham Lincoln on the battlefield of Gettysburg. It should be read as a part of the exercises of this day on each returning year as the Declaration of Independence is read on the Fourth of July. Let me quote from it, for its truths, like all truths, are applicable in all times and climes:

"We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here thus far so nobly advanced."

"The Unfinished Work." Yes, every generation leaves to its successor an unfinished work. The work of society, the work of human progress, the work of civilization is never completed. We build upon the foundation which we find already laid and those who follow us take up the work where we leave off. Those who fought and fell thirty years ago did nobly advance the work in their day, for they led the nation up to higher grounds. Theirs was the greatest triumph in all history. Other armies have been inspired by love of conquest or have fought to repel a foreign enemy, but our armies held within the Union brethren who now rejoice at their own defeat and glory in the preservation of the nation which they once sought to dis-

member. No greater victory can be won by citizens or soldiers than to transform temporary foes into permanent friends. But let me quote again:

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain: that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Aye, let us here dedicate ourselves anew to this unfinished work which requires of each generation constant sacrifice and unceasing care. Pericles, in speaking of those who fell in the Peloponnesian war, lauded the loyalty of his countrymen when he said:

"It was for such a country, then, that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting, and every one of their survivors may be willing to suffer in its behalf."

The strength of a nation does not lie in forts, nor in navies, nor yet in great standing armies, but in happy and contented citizens, who are ever ready to protect for themselves and to preserve for posterity the blessings which they enjoy. It is for us of this generation so to perform the duties of citizenship that a "government of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

IV

AT HIS RECEPTION IN LINCOLN

Delivered at Lincoln, Neb., on September 5, 1906, at the non-partizan reception tendered to Mr. and Mrs. Bryan by the citizens of Lincoln on their return from a tour of the world.

IN the Arabic language there are some six hundred words which mean "camel," and for the last few days I have been wishing that there were that many words in the English language which meant "thank you." I have had occasion to use the old familiar term "thank you" a great many times since I landed in New York. In London I had occasion to regret that I could speak but one language in that meeting where the representatives of twenty-six nations were assembled; but if I could speak all the languages known to man I would not be able to express the gratitude which my wife and I feel for the generous welcome which has been extended to us on our return home. The home folks met us in the harbor of New York, and I never looked into the faces of a group of friends more gladly in my life. They took charge of us, and they have floated us upon a stream of welcome 1,500 miles long, several leagues wide, and of immeasurable depth, until that stream has emptied itself into this ocean of good-will. To come home to those among whom we live and find this kindly feeling touches our hearts; to find those who

differ from us in political opinion vieing with those who agree with us to make our reception delightful, more than pays us for anything that we have been able to do.

It is kind of our dear old minister to offer the invocation and my heart joins his in its ascent to the throne of God in gratitude for that providence which has kept us amid the dangers of foreign lands and brought us safely through the perils of the deep. It is kind in the chief executive of the city to welcome us to this, his rich domain; and it is kind in the governor of this great State to join in giving us a greeting as we come home. The fact that Governor Mickey, with whom I have not always been able to entirely agree, has overlooked the opposition that has sometimes arisen, only shows how much there is in life that we can enjoy together, and how little, after all, political differences ought to count between men. I might describe it thus, that the things that we hold in common are like the sunshine of the day, while partizan differences are like the clouds that come and in a moment pass away.

I am glad to be here with you, and I speak for my wife and children as well as for myself, when I thank you a thousand, thousand times. I do not know how I can repay you for the joy you have given us, unless you will permit me as occasion offers to bring such lessons as I am able to bring from what we have observed in other lands. When we conceived this trip around the earth, it was with the belief that there would be education in it. We thought so highly of it that we were willing to take

the children out of school for a year, and I believe that it was worth more than a year's education. But it has been instructive far beyond what we imagined, and we have been able to store up information that will not only be valuable in the years to come, but will give us something to reflect upon in the closing years of our lives. I have for years appreciated the honor and the responsibility of American citizenship. Twenty-two years ago when I returned to my college to receive the Masters' Degree I took as the subject of my address, "American Citizenship," and as I recall the language that I then used I am sure that even then I understood somewhat of the importance of our nation's position among the nations of the earth. During the nearly a quarter of a century that has elapsed my appreciation of my nation's greatness has increased, but never has my pride in my nation grown as it has during the past year.

Following the sun in his course around the globe, I have noted everywhere the effect of American influence. Before I left home I had spoken at times of altruism and its part in the world's affairs. But, my friends, I have learned something of altruism since I was last among you, and I affirm without fear of contradiction that there is no nation on earth which manifests such disinterested friendship for the human race as this dear land of ours. Not only do I affirm that our nation has no equal living, but I affirm that history presents no example like ours. In many ways our nation is leading the world. I have found in every land I have visited a growth of ideas that underlie our govern-

ment. A century and a quarter ago certain political doctrines were planted on American soil, and those doctrines have grown and spread until there is not a nation on earth that has not felt the impulse that was started in this country at that time. There is not a nation in the world in which the democratic idea is not moving and moving powerfully today. Go into Japan and you will find that they not only have a representative government, but that they are continually endeavoring to make that government more responsive to the sentiment of the people. Go into China, that great nation which has slumbered for twenty centuries, and you will find that there is a stirring there and that the Dowager Empress has within a year sent commissioners abroad to investigate the institutions of other lands with the purpose of granting a constitutional government to the flowery kingdom.

Within a year public opinion in Russia has forced a reluctant czar to grant a douma, and while that douma has been dissolved it has been dissolved with the promise that another shall take its place. Not only do you find the democratic sentiment—and I need not tell you that I use the word in no partizan sense—not only is this spreading, but education is spreading throughout the world.

It is still true that millions, yes, hundreds of millions, sit in darkness. It is true that in one of the nations of the Orient scarcely one in a hundred can read intelligently a letter written to him. It is true that in another Oriental nation less than one per cent. of the women can read and write. It

is true that you find many places where there is great intellectual darkness, but, my friends, in every nation which I visited there is growth, there is progress. A viceroy of China declared that in five years he had established four thousand schools in his one district, that in a nation which until recently knew nothing of the public school. I found that even in Turkey they are beginning to realize the necessity for education, and the governor of one of the Turkish States told me that it was necessary that the people of Turkey should be educated if they were going to hold any place among the nations of the earth. Not only are they establishing public schools, but they are establishing private schools. Not only private schools, but schools supported by contributions from abroad.

All over the Orient you will find schools established by Americans and supported by money contributed each year by Americans interested in the cause of education. And after having visited these schools, and the churches which stand beside them at every point at which we stopped in the Orient, we reached Bombay and found there also these schools supported by American money. I told them that if we could not boast that the sun never set upon our possessions we could boast that it never set upon American philanthropy. I am proud of this work that my country is doing, and none of us are wise enough to look into the future and see what may be done by these boys and girls who owe their intellectual training to the benevolence of American citizens. And in the presence of the ladies who grace this occasion let me say, that one

who travels abroad, especially in the Orient, learns to appreciate what America does for the woman. There is no other nation in which woman stands as high as she does in the United States. There is no other nation in which woman so nearly approaches the position that the Creator intended her to fill. I have had some difficulty in bringing my countrymen to accept the double standard as applied to money. I think, however, they will agree with me when I apply the double standard to man and woman, and they will forgive me if I consent to a change in the ratio from 16 to 1 to 1 to 1.

Another thought that has imprest itself upon me is the superiority of our religion over the religions of the east. When I visited China I had a high conception of the philosophy of Confucius, but when I had seen Confucianism applied to human life and exemplified in Chinese society; when I had studied the words of Confucius I lost my admiration for the philosophy of Confucius. I found that there were several points where this system came into direct antagonism with the teachings of Christ. I have heard it said that Confucius gave what was equivalent to the golden rule when he said: "Do not unto others that which you would not have others do unto you." But if you will examine the difference you will find that there is a world wide space between the negative doctrine of Confucius and the positive doctrine of the Nazarene. The negative doctrine is not sufficient. Life means something better than negative harmlessness; it means positive helpfulness prompted by love for mankind.

Once when Confucius was asked what he thought of the doctrine that you should do good to those who injure you, his reply was that you should recompense good with good, and evil with justice; but Christ says love your enemies, and do good to those that hate you. How can you know what justice is if revenge is rankling in your bosom? Christ gave us the doctrine that takes from the heart the desire for revenge; by putting love in its place, He makes it possible for men to know what justice is.

And as we traveled through India and saw the idolatry that one finds there; as we saw them dip up water from the sacred Ganges; as we saw them bathing the limbs of the dead in these waters to consecrate them before they were burned; as we watched them in their devotion and in their superstitions, our hearts turned with love and longing to the little churches of this country where God is worshiped in a different way.

But, my friends, I am not here to speak to you to-night. It has been announced that we are to have the pleasure of shaking hands with you as soon as I have concluded my remarks. I have been taking a survey of this audience. Mrs. Bryan and I have at times shaken hands with as many as 3,600 an hour, and I have been looking over this audience and wondering how high the sun would be in the sky tomorrow morning when we are through. As we have not had our full quota of sleep since we landed in New York I must not postpone that sleep too long. I shall not occupy more of your time than to say that we come home again with de-

light. We have seen nothing abroad that is so dear to us as home.

To-night we shall not rest on the trembling bosom of the mighty deep; we shall rest rather on these billowy plains of the boundless West, and I am sure that the alfalfa-scented air of these lands will be sweeter than the spicy breezes of Ceylon. And I know that in our home upon the hill where we can meet you and talk over the days when we have been absent we will be far happier than we would be in any castle on the Rhine.

V

THE CONSERVATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES

At the conference at the White House, called by President Roosevelt to consider the conservation of the nation's resources, Mr. Bryan, as one of the special guests, delivered the following address on May 15, 1908.

I HESITATE to speak at all, because the Governors who are assembled here represent constituencies, and those constituencies, well marked, are looking to them for the protection of State interests in conjunction with the development of National interests. I recognize that a private citizen, like myself, with no fixt constituency (laughter and applause) speaks, if he speaks at all, either for himself or for a nebulous portion of the nation. I recognize, too, that such an one speaks with less authority; and I have been anxious that those who are in official position should discuss these questions and leave us unofficial visitors to the last.

It is impossible in the short time that one can properly occupy to take up and elaborate any of these themes; therefore, I am going to present in writing certain observations which I think apply to the entire subject.

I acknowledge my obligation to President Roosevelt for the opportunity which he has given me to participate in this meeting. The conference marks

the beginning of a new era, during which increasing attention will be given to the far-reaching problems involved in the conservation of the Nation's resources. (Applause.) The epoch-making speech with which the Chief Executive opened the first session must exert a powerful influence upon the country at large, as it has upon those who were fortunate enough to hear him.

The assembling of the Governors of nearly all the forty-six States is in itself an historic event of the first magnitude, for this meeting, and the future meetings which this one assures, will facilitate co-operation between the States, make easier the doing of those things which should be done by the National Government, and stimulate the several States to act more speedily and with better information upon the things which should be done by the States independently. There has been some difference of opinion as to the relative spheres of the Nation and the State, but such discussions as we have had here will help to define these spheres and to harmonize conflicting opinions.

I am a strict constructionist, if that means to believe that the Federal Government is one of delegated powers and that constitutional limitations should be carefully observed. I am jealous of any encroachment upon the rights of the States, believing that the States are as indestructible as the Nation is indissoluble. It is, however, entirely consistent with this theory to believe, as I do believe, that it is just as imperative that the general Government shall discharge the duties delegated to it, as it is that the States shall exercise the powers

reserved to them. *There is no twilight zone between the Nation and the State, in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both* (great applause), and my observation is that most—not all, but most—of the contentions over the line between the Nation and the State are traceable to predatory corporations which are trying to shield themselves from deserved punishment, or endeavoring to prevent needed restraining legislation. The first point which I desire to make is that earnest men, with an unselfish purpose and concerned only for the public good, will be able to agree upon legislation which will not only preserve for the future the inheritance which we have received from a bountiful Providence, but preserve it in such a way as to avoid the dangers of centralization. Nothing that is necessary is impossible; and it would be a reflection upon the intelligence, as well as upon the patriotism of our people, to doubt the value of gatherings of this kind.

The time allotted to each speaker is so short that instead of attempting to discuss the various questions presented I shall content myself with a few suggestions in line with the very able papers that have been presented by the specialists who have appeared before us. I begin with the proposition that it should be our purpose, not only to preserve our Nation's resources for future generations by reducing waste to the minimum, to see to it that a few of the people do not monopolize that which is in equity the property of all the people. (Applause.) The earth belongs to each generation, and it is as criminal to fetter future genera-

tions with perpetual franchises, as it would be to unnecessarily impair the common store. (Applause.) I am glad that Secretary Garfield emphasized this point. It is one that must always be kept in mind by the Nation and by the several States.

The first national asset is to be found in the *life* of the people, and Mr. Mitchell very properly, and with great force, pointed out the importance of safeguarding the life, the limbs and the health of those who are engaged in converting the Nation's natural resources into material wealth. I would go a step farther and say that we could well afford to include in the appropriations made by Congress a sum sufficient to carry on necessary investigations into the causes of diseases, national in their scope, and to stimulate the search for remedies which would add to the life, health and usefulness of the whole population. (Applause.)

I was surprized at the statistics given in regard to our coal and our iron ore. While it is possible that new coal measures and new ore beds may be discovered, we cannot afford to base our conduct upon speculations as to what may yet be discovered. We should begin an intelligent supervision and conservation of that which is known to exist, and I respectfully submit that it is worth while to ask ourselves whether we can afford to offer a bounty to those who are engaged in exhausting the supply of raw materials, which, when gone, can not be replaced. Surely if there is any importation which we can properly encourage by a free list, it is the importation of those raw materials of which our own supply is limited. (Applause.) And what

I say in regard to coal and iron ore is equally applicable to timber. It is hardly consistent to discourage the importation of lumber while we worry about the devastation of our forests.

Mr. Hill has rendered the conference a real service in presenting the facts and statistics set forth in his address on land and its cultivation. Few of us, probably, were conscious of the impairment of the crop value of our soil. I am sure that a clear understanding of this subject will lead to a still further enlargement of the work of the Department of Agriculture and to still closer cooperation between the Department of Agriculture and the States in teaching economical methods of agriculture. (Applause.) Already the rapid growth of the agricultural college offers encouragement and I am glad to express my appreciation of the valuable work done by Secretary Wilson and his associates in bringing from abroad fruits, plants and grasses suited to the different sections of our country. As the farmer pays more than his share of the taxes and receives less than his share of the direct benefits which flow from national appropriations, it is only justice to him that we shall be liberal in the support of every effort put forth for the improvement of agriculture. (Applause.)

Irrigation has justified the arguments which led to the inauguration of the work. No one who has witnessed the transformation of the desert into field and garden can doubt the wisdom of the steps that have been taken. Here, as elsewhere, both the Nation and the State can find a field for legitimate

activity; and I am sure that there will be a continuation of this work until all of the waters which can be utilized for that purpose have been appropriated.

I will add here that last September I visited the southern part of Idaho and saw there a tract of land which had been recently reclaimed under the operation of the Carey law. I had been there ten years before; the ground was so barren that it seemed as if it were impossible that it could ever be made useful. When I went back this time and found that in three years 170,000 acres of land had been reclaimed; that where three years ago nothing but the sage brush grew they are now raising seven tons of alfalfa to the acre, and more than a hundred bushels of oats; that ten thousand people were living on that tract; that in one town that had grown up in that time there were 1,910 inhabitants, and that in the three banks they had deposits of over $500,000—when I found this change I had some realization of the magic power of water when applied to these desert lands. (Applause.)

The same principle which was invoked in support of irrigation can be invoked in support of drainage. The question is not whether the water shall be brought *on* the land or taken *off* the land; it is whether the land shall be made tillable and its wealth-producing qualities utilized. Drainage of the swamps is, therefore, as legitimate a work as the reclamation of arid wastes.

No subject has been brought out more prominently at this conference than the subject of forestry, and it justifies the time devoted to it; for

our timber lands touch our national interests at several points. Our use of timber is enormous, but immense as would be the inconvenience and loss caused by the absence of lumber, other results that would follow from the destruction of our forests would be still more disastrous to the Nation. As has been shown, the timber on our mountain ranges protects our water supply. Not to speak of changes in climate which might follow the denuding of our mountains, the loss to the irrigated country could not be remedied, and the damage to the streams could not be calculated. And if this is not enough to arouse the interest of all, I may add that the destruction of the forests on the mountain ranges would, in time, impair the underflow upon which we rely for our well water.

The good effects of this conference are already apparent in the determination exprest by several Governors to at once appoint Forestry Commissions and to begin such work as the States can do. (Applause.) In this case action is so urgent and the field to be covered so large, that both the Nation and the several States can exercise themselves to the full without danger of doing too much. (Applause.)

The national reservations already made in the West, and the new reservations that ought to be made, and are likely to be made, in the White Mountains and the Appalachian Range, can doubtless be so administered as to protect national interests without unduly burdening the States in which the reservations are located, or needlessly interfering with the development of those States. No na-

tional policy need retard the development of the Western States, and their own interests would restrain them from sacrificing future wealth and protection for temporary advantage.

Lastly, I come to our interior waterways. I shall not defend the improvement of these waterways on the ground that such improvement would help to regulate railroad rates (altho it would aid regulation), for whenever the people are ready they will exercise the power which they now have to regulate by legislation. But water traffic is less expensive than traffic by rail, and there are many commodities which can be transported much more cheaply by water than they possibly could be carried on land. It has been estimated that an expenditure of $500,000,000 on interior waterways would result in a saving of nearly $200,000,000 annually.

If this saving were equally divided between the producers and the consumers it would be an enormous profit to both; and Mr. Carnegie has pointed out that water transportation, by requiring less iron and less coal in proportion to the freight carried, would enable us to postpone the exhaustion of our iron mines and our coal beds.

The development of water transportation is essentially a national project because the watercourses run by and through many States. And yet, as has been pointed out, it would be possible for the States to do a certain amount of developing along this line if they were permitted to avail themselves of the use of the water-power that could be developed.

Just a word, in conclusion, about an investment

in permanent improvements. Money spent in care for the life and health of the people, in protecting the soil from erosion and from exhaustion, in preventing waste in the use of minerals of limited supply, in the reclamation of deserts and of swamps, in the preservation of forests still remaining, and in the replanting of denuded tracts—money invested in these and in the development of waterways and in the deepening of harbors, is an investment yielding an annual dividend. If any of these expenditures fail to bring a return at once the money expended is like a bequest to those who come afterward. And, as the parent lives for his children as well as for himself, so the citizen provides for the future as well as for the present.

This conference will be remembered by future generations, because they, as well as ourselves, will be the recipients of the benefits which flow from it. We have all been strengthened by communion together; our vision has been enlarged, and the enthusiasm here aroused will permeate every State and every community. (Great applause.)

VI

COMMERCE

An address delivered at the banquet given in Chicago on October 7, 1908, by the Chicago Association of Commerce, Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan being guests.

I APPRECIATE the opportunity of being present on this occasion. I appreciate the generous words of the chairman in presenting me to you. I think that it is a good omen when we can lay aside partizan feeling on an occasion like this, and, forgetting the things that separate us, remember the things more numerous and more important that unite us in the bonds of a common citizenship.

I think I can see signs of progress in politics. When I first began to run for president there were no occasions of this kind. I note a large charity, a broader liberality, and a more kindly feeling than has sometimes prevailed in the past. Here, the chairmen of the respective committees meet, willing, even in the heat of the campaign, to pause for a moment in the giving out of estimates. Here the treasurers suspend for a moment the investigation of the business connections of those who send in checks; and here "two distinguished citizens at large" meet, both uncertain as to which will be confined.

We shall carry away delightful recollections of this night, for, whatever the election may show, we can remember one occasion when we were treated with equal consideration.

I am glad to meet at this board one who has been honored by his party with leadership in a great campaign. I am glad to testify to my appreciation of his abilities and his virtues. If I am successful, the victory will be the greater to have won over such; and, if I am defeated, the sorrow will be less to have been defeated by such.

I esteem it an honor to be the guest of this association in this city. This is the city in which I studied for two years when I was preparing for the law. I am better acquainted with Chicago than with any other city, and no one residing within its borders has a larger faith in its future than I.

I am honored to be the guest of a commercial association, for I recognize the importance of commerce. Commerce is the second step in material progress. First comes production, and then exchange. Without exchange, production loses much of its value. Those who produce need commerce, and commerce cannot exist without production first.

Commerce is a great and growing force in the world. Commerce has contributed enormously to the world's progress and to mankind's well-being. Every step in the development of commerce is an upward step. Commerce is today extending its influence throughout the world and binding people together as never before. Compare the possibilities of today with the possibilities of a few centuries ago, and who will measure the difference? Whenever an invention of importance is heralded some one exclaims that it will deprive people of employment, and sometimes the labor-saving machine is condemned because it enables a few to do

what it formerly required many to do in the same length of time. But the labor-saving machine is rather a labor-multiplying machine. When steam displaced the craft that moved by oars it did not decrease, but multiplied, the number of those upon the sea. When the steam engine took the place of the wagon it did not displace those who drove the wagons; it increased the number of persons engaged in transportation. Twelve years ago a statement was made and signed by the five men who stood at the head of five great railway orders, and in that statement the world was told that 800,000 men were engaged as employes in the railway service.

Every new invention, I repeat, has enlarged the demand for labor as it has multiplied the efficiency of labor. I am not prepared to say that we have yet recognized the duty of society to bear some of the burdens that may fall temporarily on people displaced by improvements that bring a large gain to society. I am not sure that we have yet recognized that when society is the gainer society ought to compensate those who individually suffer for society's benefit. But whether we have found an accurate adjustment or not, there is no doubt that society has largely gained.

One of the great improvements, one of the inventions that has made largely for the development of commerce, is the corporate entity. The corporation is a step in advance. It enables people to do things jointly that they could not do alone. It relieves those who cooperate of the embarrassment of partnership and it substitutes larger opportuni-

ties, and thus facilitates the work of exchange. No one who has estimated with intelligence the usefulness of the corporation will for one moment think of destroying the power that the corporation gives for cooperative effort. (Applause.)

But every new step in advance brings new responsibilities. When the railroads took the place of the turnpike, laws were necessary that were not necessary on the highway. Society, recognizing that the railroad had become a necessity, adjusted itself to the railroad, and then proceeded by legislation to correct whatever abuses might arise in the management of the railroad. (Applause.) And so society, accepting the corporation as an established fact, is proceeding to enact such laws as may be necessary to make the corporation serve the purpose for which it was created. I am sure that the members of this association, organized for the promotion of the city's interests, for the development of the city's commerce and for the advancement of the city's good, recognize that with the large power that corporate action gives, restriction is necessary.

There are many differences between the natural man and the corporate man. There is a difference in the purpose of creation. God made man and placed him upon His footstool to carry out a divine decree; man created the corporation as a money making machine. When God made man He did not make the tallest man much taller than the shortest; and He did not make the strongest man much stronger than the weakest; but when the law creates the corporate person that person may be an

hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a million times stronger than the God-made man. When God made man He set a limit to his existence, so that if he was a bad man he could not be bad long; but when the corporation was created the limit on age was raised, and it sometimes projects itself through generation after generation.

When God made man He gave to mankind a soul and warned him that in the next world he would be held accountable for the deeds done in the flesh; but when man created the corporation he could not endow that corporation with a soul, so that if it escapes punishment here it need not fear the hereafter. And this man-made giant has been put forth to compete with the God-made man. We must assume that man in creating the corporation had in view the welfare of society, and the people who create must retain the power to restrict and to control. We can never become so enthusiastic over the corporation, over its usefulness, over its possibilities, as to forget the God-made man who was here first and who still remains a factor to be considered.

I take it, then, that I can assume that all who are interested in commerce, and interested in the corporation as a means of developing commerce, will recognize the necessity of making competition between the natural man and the fictitious person approximately equal so that the natural man may not be trodden under foot.

Commerce is important. You can scarcely estimate its importance, and yet commerce is dependent. In fact, my friends, the more complex society becomes the more dependent we are. We some-

times speak of people being independently rich. We do not mean that; we mean that they are dependently rich, for the richer they are the more dependent they are. The more a man has the more he must employ to secure this thing which he calls wealth. The larger his annual income, the larger the number of people who labor that he may have a part.

Commerce cannot live without agriculture. I dare not say on this subject what I once said, for it is too near the election to hope to correct misrepresentations that might be made. I once said, "Burn your cities and leave the farms, and the cities will grow up again as by magic; but destroy the farms and the grass will grow in the streets of your cities." I said that once, but I dare not say it again, for I found after the election that a dodger had been circulated in a distant State which read like this: "Burn your cities. W. J. Bryan."

But while experience has taught me caution, while I find as others do that advancing years bring conservatism in language, still I am yet young enough to venture the assertion that the prairies of the Middle West are indispensable to the City on the Lakes. Not only is commerce dependent upon the farmers who in their fields convert God's bounty into a nation's wealth, but commerce is dependent also upon those humble toilers who in the factory and on the train are turning the wheels of our industrial progress.

While we gather here to enjoy the bounties that are spread we are much like the people on the upper decks of a ship who ride peacefully along through

the waters because down in the hold, in the dark, there are men with bodies bare and hands soiled with dirt, keeping the fires burning while the ship moves on.

The manufacturer is as dependent upon the men whom he employs as they are dependent upon him for employment. The clerks in the stores, who run back and forth, who carry merchandise and keep the accounts, are as necessary a part of commerce as those who preside and direct. The great lesson that we must learn is that society cannot dispense with any of the elements engaged in production.

We must learn the great truth, that we are linked together by indissoluble bonds, bonds that we should not sever if we could, bonds which we could not sever if we would. And we must learn that progress cannot be measured by the progress of a few, but by the advancement of the mass. On occasions like this, I deem it not inappropriate to remind you, as I desire to be reminded, that we must work together if we work at all.

Upon what basis can we work? There is but one, and that is a basis that measures justly each individual's share of the joint product. Every man who, by his brain or muscle, contributes to the sum total of this nation's wealth must have a part of that wealth as his reward. He may be a captain of industry; he may be a general in command; but, my friends, there must be a reasonable relation between the pay of the general and the pay of the enlisted man, for the general needs the soldier as much as the soldier needs the general.

To my mind, the world's greatest problem today

is not to correctly solve the questions about which my distinguished friend and I dispute. These are surface indications of a larger problem. Go into different lands and you will find people speaking many languages; you will find differences in dress; you will find differences in tradition; you will find differences in religion, and you will find differences in government, but there is one problem that is universal; you encounter it everywhere; it has no latitude, it has no longitude. It is not the problem of today or yesterday or tomorrow; it is the problem that has existed since man's race began, and will exist while time endures. That problem is the adjustment of the rewards of society. Upon the settlement of that problem aright depends the future of mankind.

Is there a Divine measure of rewards? I believe there is. What is that measure? It is the divine measure; it is the law that God stamped upon the world and imprest on man; it is the law by which society must be governed, if governed aright; and this law is that every citizen shall draw from society a reward proportionate to the service that he renders to society. And in proportion as we approximate to the right solution of that problem will we place progress upon a sure and permanent foundation.

I think it is well that we should gather here from all parts of this Union, for better acquaintance will make us better friends. It is well that we should meet together as the representatives of different parties for the more we know of each other, the more we are convinced that, whatever

our differences may be, our impulses are the same and that patriotism is stronger in all of us than the partisanship that separates us.

It would also be well if we could more frequently mingle together as the representatives of different occupations, of different work, of different elements of our industrial population. For I am satisfied that, if the people could meet each other face to face, and know each other, heart knowing heart, an impetus would be given to a larger brotherhood; and that, instead of being actuated by that short-sighted selfishness that leads one to try to lift himself upon the prostrate form of another, we would learn that the broadest selfishness, the most far-sighted self-interest, is embraced in the commandment:

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

VII

TO HIS NEIGHBORS

Delivered at Lincoln, Neb., on November 2, 1908, as the closing speech of the campaign.

I SHALL not make a political speech tonight. After such a generous welcome, I prefer to speak to you as a man to those who live beside him. There are unpleasant experiences in public life, but its rewards far outweigh them, and nothing has occurred in my life that I appreciate more than the cordial reception that you have given me in my home city at the close of this campaign. To have lived among you with the publicity that attaches to a presidential campaign, and then to have such evidence of your good will, makes this night memorable. While it has sometimes been humiliating to have it thrown up to me in other parts of the country that my home city has never given me a majority——

Voices: We shall give it to you this time.

Thank you. While I repeat, it has been humiliating, yet, as a matter of fact, I have always had a large complimentary vote from the Republicans of Lincoln. When I ran for Congress in 1890, I was defeated in this county by only a little more than 400, and when I ran for Congress again in 1892, I was defeated in this county by only a little more than 300; and even in the heat of presidential cam-

paigns, I have always had a large number of votes from men who were not connected with the political party of which I am a member. If this fact were known, there would not have been so much criticism of the fact that I have never carried this city with its large normal Republican majority. I want to thank the Republicans, who, in the past, have given me their votes. Without the votes of many Republicans I would not have been elected in 1892, for my majority was only 140; and without that election I would not have been nominated for the presidency in 1896. I can feel grateful, therefore, to the Republicans who gave me my start, and whose votes were absolutely necessary to my election on that occasion. Whatever the Republicans of Lincoln may do in the future, they have done enough in the past, by laying the foundation for my political career, to make me their debtor while I live.

My friends, I am at the end of my third presidential campaign. Tomorrow 15,000,000 of voters will decide whether I am to occupy the seat that Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln occupied. You will have your part in my victory or in my defeat. It may be that the election will turn on Nebraska, and it may be that Nebraska will turn on votes, so few in number that the city of Lincoln may decide the result. If fate decrees that my name shall be added to the list of Presidents, and Nebraska added to the list of States that have furnished Presidents, I shall rejoice with you. If, on the other hand, the election shall be against me, I can feel that I have left nothing undone that I could have done to bring

success to my cause. And I shall find private life so full of joy that I shall not miss the presidency.

I have been the child of fortune from my birth. God gave me into the keeping of a Christian father and a Christian mother. They implanted in my heart the ideals that have guided my life. When I was in law school, I was fortunate enough, as I was in my college days, to fall under the influence of men of ideals who helped to shape my course; and when but a young man, not out of college yet, I was guided to the selection of one who, for twenty-four years, has been my faithful helpmate. No presidential victory could have brought her to me, and no defeat can take her from me. I have been blessed with a family. Our children are with us to make glad the declining years of their mother and myself. When you first knew me, they called me, in derision, "The Boy Orator of the Platte." I have outlived that title, and my grandchildren are now growing up about me. I repeat, that I have been fortunate, indeed. I have been abundantly rewarded for what little I have been able to do, and my ambition is not so much to hold any office, however great, as it is to know my duty and to do it, whether in public life or as a private citizen.

If I am elected, I shall be absent from you but four years. If I am defeated, you will help me to bear my defeat. And I assure you that the affection that my countrymen have shown is to me dearer than all earthly office. I shall be content, if I can deserve the continuation of that affection. I have been touched by the demonstrations that have

been given in other parts of the country, but in twelve years and in three campaigns, I have never had a welcome anywhere more generous, more enthusiastic than you have given in Lincoln tonight.

I believe I am going to be elected. More than that, I believe it is going to be more than a bare victory; I believe that there is a stirring of the conscience of the American people, a moral awakening, an uprising that means a sweeping victory. But that victory would be robbed of much of its sweetness if it were won outside of Nebraska entirely; that victory would lack much if Lincoln did not contribute to it; it would be robbed of much of its sweetness if my little precinct at Normal did not contribute to it. It will make life among you more pleasant if I can feel that this city has at last relieved me of the sneers and criticism that are hurled at me when I travel. If you, among whom I have lived; if you, who have known my every word and thought and act—if you believe me worthy of that high office, I will swear in your presence that no one who votes for me will ever have occasion to be ashamed of the vote he casts.

VIII

LINCOLN AS AN ORATOR

Delivered at Springfield, Ill., on February 12, 1909, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

LINCOLN'S fame as a statesman and as the Nation's chief executive during its most crucial period has so overshadowed his fame as an orator that his merits as a public speaker have not been sufficiently emphasized. When it is remembered that his nomination was directly due to the prominence which he won upon the stump; that in a remarkable series of debates he held his own against one of the most brilliant orators America has produced; and that to his speeches, more than to the arguments of any other one man, or, in fact, of all other public men combined, was due the success of his party—when all these facts are borne in mind, it will appear plain, even to the casual observer, that too little attention has been given to the extraordinary power which he exercised as a speaker. That his nomination was due to the effect that his speeches produced, cannot be disputed. When he began his fight against slavery in 1858, he was but little known outside of the counties in which he attended court. It is true that he had been a member of Congress some years before, but at that time he was not stirred by any great emotion or

connected with the discussion of any important theme, and he made but little impression upon National politics. The threatened extension of slavery, however, aroused him, and with a cause which justified his best efforts, he threw his whole soul into the fight. The debates with Douglas have never had a parallel in this, or, so far as history shows, in any other country.

In engaging in this contest with Douglas, he met a foeman worthy of his steel, for Douglas had gained a deserved reputation as a great debater, and recognized that his future depended upon the success with which he met the attacks of Lincoln. On one side an institution supported by history and tradition, and on the other a growing sentiment against the holding of a human being in bondage—these presented a supreme issue. Douglas won the senatorial seat for which the two at that time had contested, but Lincoln won a larger victory—he helped to mold the sentiment that was dividing parties and re-arranging the political map of the country. When the debates were concluded, every one recognized him as the leader of the cause which he had espoused, and it was a recognition of this leadership which he had secured through his public speeches that enabled him, a Western man, to be nominated over the Eastern candidates—not only a Western man, but a man lacking in book learning and the polish of the schools. No other American President has ever so clearly owed his elevation to his oratory. Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, the Presidents usually mentioned in connection with him, were all poor speakers.

In analyzing Lincoln's characteristics as a speaker, one is imprest with the completeness of his equipment. He possest the two things that are absolutely essential to effective speaking—namely, information and earnestness. If one can be called eloquent who knows what he is talking about and means what he says—and I know of no better definition—Lincoln's speeches were eloquent. He was thoroughly informed upon the subject; he was prepared to meet his opponent upon the general proposition discust, and upon any deductions which could be drawn from it. There was no unexplored field into which his adversary could lead him; he had carefully examined every foot of the ground, and was not afraid of pitfall or ambush, and what was equally important, he spoke from his own heart to the hearts of those who listened. While the printed page can not fully reproduce the impressions made by a voice trembling with emotion or tender with pathos, one cannot read the reports of the debates without feeling that Lincoln regarded the subject as far transcending the ambitions of the personal interests of the debaters. It was of little moment, he said, whether they voted him or Judge Douglas up or down, but it was tremendously important that the question should be decided rightly. His reputation may have suffered in the opinion of some, because he made them think so deeply upon what he said that they, for the moment, forgot him altogether, and yet, is this not the very perfection of speech? It is the purpose of the orator to persuade, and to do this he presents, not himself, but his subjects. Someone, in

describing the difference between Demosthenes and Cicero, said that "when Cicero spoke, people said, 'How well Cicero speaks;' but when Demosthenes spoke, they said, 'Let us go against Philip.'" In proportion as one can forget himself and become wholly absorbed in the cause which he is presenting does he measure up to the requirements of oratory.

In addition to the two essentials, Lincoln possest what may be called the secondary aids to oratory. He was a master of statement. Few have equalled him in the ability to strip a truth of surplus verbiage and present it in its naked strength. In the Declaration of Independence we read that there are certain self-evident truths, which are therein enumerated. If I were going to amend the proposition, I would say that all truth is self-evident. Not that any truth will be universally accepted, for not all are in a position or in an attitude to accept any given truth. In the interpretation of the parable of the sower, we are told that "the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth," and it must be acknowledged that every truth has these or other difficulties to contend with. But a truth may be so clearly stated that it will commend itself to anyone who has not some special reason for rejecting it.

No one has more clearly stated the fundamental objections to slavery than Lincoln stated them, and he had a great advantage over his opponent in being able to state those objections frankly, for Judge Douglas neither denounced nor defended slavery as an institution—his plan embodied a compromise,

and he could not discuss slavery upon its merits without alienating either the slave owner or the abolitionist.

Brevity is the soul of wit, and a part of Lincoln's reputation for wit lies in his ability to condense a great deal into a few words. He was epigrammatic. A molder of thought is not necessarily an originator of the thought molded. Just as lead molded into the form of bullets has its effectiveness increased, so thought may have its propagating power enormously increased by being molded into a form that the eye catches and the memory holds. Lincoln was the spokesman of his party—he gave felicitous expression to the thoughts of his followers.

His Gettysburg speech is not surpassed, if equalled, in beauty, simplicity, force and appropriateness by any speech of the same length of any language. It is the world's model in eloquence, elegance and condensation. He might safely rest his reputation as an orator on that speech alone.

He was apt in illustration—no one more so. A simple story or simile drawn from every-day life flashed before his hearers the argument that he wanted to present. He did not speak over the heads of his hearers, and yet his language was never commonplace. There is strength in simplicity, and Lincoln's style was simplicity itself.

He understood the power of the interrogatory, for some of his most powerful arguments were condensed into questions. Of all those who discust the evils of separation and the advantages to be derived from the preservation of the Union, no one

ever put the matter more forcibly than Lincoln did when, referring to the possibility of war and the certainty of peace some time, even if the Union was divided, he called attention to the fact that the same question would have to be dealt with, and then asked: "Can enemies make treaties easier than friends can make laws?"

He made frequent use of Bible language and of illustrations drawn from Holy Writ. It is said that when he was preparing his Springfield speech of 1858, he spent hours trying to find language that would express the idea that dominated his entire career—namely, that a republic could not permanently endure half free and half slave, and that finally a Bible passage flashed through his mind, and he exclaimed: "I have found it! 'A house divided against itself can not stand.'" And probably no other Bible passage ever exerted as much influence as this one in the settlement of a great controversy.

I have enumerated some, not all—but the more important—of his characteristics as an orator, and on this day I venture for the moment to turn the thoughts of this audience away from the great work that he accomplished as a patriot, away from his achievements in the line of statecraft, to the means employed by him to bring before the public the ideas which attracted attention to him. His power as a public speaker was the foundation of his success, and while it is obscured by the superstructure that was reared upon it, it cannot be entirely overlooked as the returning anniversary of his birth calls increasing attention to the widening influence

of his work. With no military career to dazzle the eye or excite the imagination; with no public service to make his name familiar to the reading public, his elevation to the presidency would have been impossible without his oratory. The eloquency of Demosthenes and Cicero were no more necessary to their work, and Lincoln deserves to have his name written on the scroll with theirs.

IX

DREAMERS

From a Speech delivered at Lincoln, Nebr., in November, 1906.

IT is the fate of those who stand in a position of leadership to receive credit which really belongs to their coworkers. Even the enemies of a public man exaggerate the importance of his work without, of course, intending it. I have recently been a victim of this exaggeration. Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, made a speech before the Republican Club of Lincoln, and in it he paid me some compliments; but he said that I was merely a dreamer while President Roosevelt did things. I did not pay much attention to the title which he gave me until I read shortly afterwards that Speaker Cannon called me a dreamer; then Governor Cummins called me a dreamer, and then Governor Hanley, of Indiana, did also; and I saw that I could not expect acquittal with four such witnesses against me, and so I decided to plead guilty and justify.

I went to the Bible for authority, as I am in the habit of doing, for I have never found any other book which contains so much of truth or in which truth is so well exprest; and then, too, there is another reason why I quote scripture: When I quote democratic authority, the Republicans attack my authority and they keep me so busy defending the men from whom I quote that I do not have time

to do the work I want to do, but when I quote scripture and they attack my authority, I can let them fight it out with the Bible while I go on about my business.

The Bible tells of dreamers, and among the most conspicuous was Joseph. He told his dreams to his brothers, and his brothers hated him because of his dreams. And one day when his father sent him out where his brothers were keeping their flocks in Dothan, they saw him coming afar off and said: "Behold, the dreamer cometh." They plotted to kill him—and he is not the only dreamer who has been plotted against in this old world. But finally they decided that instead of killing him they would put him down in a pit, but some merchants passing that way, the brothers decided to sell him to the merchants, and the merchants carried Joseph down into Egypt.

The brothers deceived their father and made him think the wild beasts had devoured his son.

Time went on and the brothers had almost forgotten the dreamer Joseph. But a famine came—yes, a famine—and then they had to go down into Egypt and buy corn, and when they got there, they found the dreamer—and he had the corn.

So I decided that it was not so bad after all for one to be a dreamer—if one has the corn.

But the more I thought of the dreamer's place in history, the less I felt entitled to the distinction.

John Boyle O'Reilly says that

> "The dreamer lives forever,
> While the toiler dies in a day."

And is it not true?

In traveling through Europe you find great cathedrals, and back of each there was a dreamer. An architect had a vision of a temple of worship and he put that vision upon paper. Then the builders began, and they laid stone upon stone and brick upon brick until finally the temple was completed —completed sometimes centuries after the dreamer's death. And people now travel from all corners of the world to look upon the temple, and the name of the dreamer is known while the names of the toilers are forgotten.

No, I cannot claim a place among the dreamers, but there has been a great dreamer in the realm of statesmanship—Thomas Jefferson. He saw a people bowed beneath oppression and he had a vision of a self-governing nation, in which every citizen would be a sovereign. He put his vision upon paper and for more than a century multitudes have been building. They are building at this temple in every nation; some day it will be completed and then the people of all the world will find protection beneath its roof and security within its walls. I shall be content if, when my days are numbered, it can be truthfully said of me that with such ability as I possest, and whenever opportunity offered, I labored faithfully with the multitude to build this building higher in my time.

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